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Founded in 1920 by A. H. Fox Strangways, and continued by Richard Capell, MUSIC AND LETTERS is now controlled by the Royal Musical Association, the Oxford University Press, and the present Editor, Eric Blom.

A NEW WELSH FOLK OPERA

By H. F. REDLICH

THE emergence and continued existence of so-called national operas depends on their composers' skill in adjusting untapped folk melodies to a current international musical idiom. The dawn of German and Czech national opera teaches an object-lesson. Both Weber and Smetana deliberately focused attention on simple melodies akin to folk tunes in 'Der Freischütz' and 'The Bartered Bride'. Both consciously avoided the pitfalls of their contemporary "modern" operatic idiom, the language of Spontini's *grand opéra* and of Wagner's *Musikdrama*. Both succeeded in integrating their folk material into the existing framework and formal canon of a somewhat earlier if not yet obsolescent operatic tradition. Weber's 'Freischütz' is German to the core despite the fact that the roots of its style go back to French *opéra-comique*; similarly, Smetana's 'Bartered Bride' is no less genuinely Czech for using the conventions of the German romantic *Spieloper*.

For a British composer of to-day who is intent on producing a truly national operatic atmosphere the problem has become far more complicated. Is there an international operatic tradition on which he can safely lean without prejudice to the national character of his own work? A mere thirty years ago he might still have used the Wagnerian idiom without qualms. But that path is blocked to-day: Wagner's style has become as old-fashioned and cumbersome for the composer of 1956 as Lully's idiom may have appeared to Gluck when he was about to reset the Lullian libretto of 'Armide' in 1777. Is there a live popular tradition in the music of present-day Britain comparable to the German *Volkslied* in 1820 and the Czech

folksongs surviving in the 1860s? Can simple folk tunes become the vocabulary of a more complex musical language? The case of early Stravinsky at once comes to mind. His 'Petrushka' ballet started a musical revolution in 1911, yet its melodic substance is largely drawn from Rimsky-Korsakov's collection of Russian folksongs (1876) and from the similar contemporary collection of Tchaikovsky. One of its most striking tunes, the folksong 'I was at a feast', had already been used by Balakirev in his 'Overture on Russian Themes' in 1858, that is half a century before Stravinsky turned it into his famous 'Dance of the Nursemaids'. Are folk melodies in Britain similarly adaptable? And if Vaughan Williams did not succeed with his beautiful early folk opera 'Hugh the Drover' (1924), which in many ways attempts something akin to Weber and Smetana, and steers clear of Wagner, who would have a chance?

Ian Parrott, Gregynog Professor of Music in the University of Wales, and a British composer of distinction and versatility, confines himself to the traditions of Welsh musical folklore. His new opera 'The Black Ram' ('Yr Hwrdd Du') in two acts with a prologue, composed in 1951-53 on a Welsh subject, with a libretto written in English by Sir H. Idris Bell and simultaneously adapted to Welsh by T. H. Parry-Williams, is a serious attempt to establish a regional operatic style by reviving an ancient and indigenous musical tradition. Parrott deliberately aims at an unsophisticated Welsh audience for whom opera is a new and unexplored medium of national self-expression. However, by originally composing his work to an English libretto and by absorbing many elements of modern music, he will undoubtedly interest British listeners in general. His music presents an ingenious solution of the eternal problem of folk opera. It boldly utilizes certain present-day processes of musical construction, it succeeds in avoiding Wagnerian recitative and it successfully operates with beautiful Welsh folk tunes; above all, it occasionally creates melodies, folk-tune-like and even archaic in character, yet evidently of original invention.

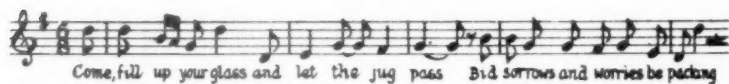
Sir H. Idris Bell's libretto is based on a story found in 'The House of Peterwell' (1900) and 'Lampeter' (1905) by George Eyre Evans, and it also utilizes motives from Elizabeth Inglis-Jones's 'Peacocks in Paradise'. It deals with certain episodes in the life of Sir Herbert Lloyd, squire of Peterwell, Lampeter, in the second half of the eighteenth century, who covets the land of a farmer in his neighbourhood, one Siôn Philip. Having his prize ram dropped down Philip's chimney he manages to have the farmer accused of theft, put into the stocks and eventually hanged. Lloyd

shows certain similarities with the contemporary figure of Stravinsky's pseudo-Hogarthian "Rake". His "progress" leads him in this opera from Peterwell, Lampeter, (December 1762) to the gambling dens near Brooke Street, London (18 August 1769). There, haunted by the memories of his misdeeds and by the reappearance of the Welsh girl Lowri, whose lover Guto he had killed and for whose subsequent debauch he is partly responsible, overwhelmed by gambling debts and left in the lurch by his rascally steward Oakley Leigh (the driving agent behind the plot against Siôn Philip), he finally blows out his brains.

The opera begins with a Prologue, 'Naboth's Vineyard', which points the moral and foreshadows Lloyd's tragic end in the biblical parallel of the covetous Jezebel.¹

Parrott's skill in inventing singable tunes with a folk flavour and transforming them in accordance with the changes in the dramatic situation may be studied with advantage in the drinking-song which starts off Act I in Oakley Leigh's mansion:

Ex. 1



The striking *hemiolia* effect in bar 2 underlines its archaic quaintness. When the gamblers of Brooke Street re-intone this melody in Act II, Scene ii, a grotesque accompaniment *à la* Berlioz suggests the sinister change in the fortunes of Sir Herbert Lloyd:

Ex. 2



Among the Welsh tunes used by Parrott, and already presented in the overture (which is played after the Prologue), there is a lovely melody which crops up again in Act II, Scene i, in the course of a

¹Chiefly based on 1 Kings 21, but also quoting Isaiah v, 8, and Galatians vi, 7.

dance on "The Green of Lampeter" which in turn had started to the jaunty fiddle strain of 'Abergenny' (from Playford's 'Dancing Master', 1665). The tune is called 'Bugeilio'r Gwenith Gwyn', and it apparently dates from before 1700. It is first sung by a youth to a primitive *Volkslied* accompaniment in the manner of Schubert:

Ex. 3



Taken up by a women's chorus, it is presented as a variant of its original *res facta*, embroidered by consecutive fifths *alla villanella* on piano and harp. Later on, when the Methodists gradually approach the rural scene, of which, needless to say, they heartily disapprove, their chorale-like tune 'Braint':

Ex. 4

(Vln)

'Abergenny'

'Braint'

Where, p'le, where shall I lay down my load of care....
y gwmafy noddfa dan y ne'....

combines easily with 'Abergenny', this polyphonic simultaneity reflecting the events of the vividly contrasting dramatic situation.

Although Parrott in general avoids Wagner's technique of the associative *Leitmotiv*, he does use two motifs in the manner of an operatic reminiscence: (1) the ostinato bass:

Ex. 5



associated with Sir Henry Lloyd and thrown into sharp relief by certain reiterative "colour chords". Its constant E \flat tonality intrudes by way of dissonance into the A major of the chorus,

preceding Sir Herbert's first entry (Act I, Sc. i); and (2) the motif of the Ram:

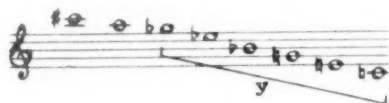
Ex. 6



The ascending fifth of its tail-end permeates the entire structure of the opera. This motif has the quality of a nocturnal bird-cry and it determines the uncanny orchestral mood-picture of Act II, Sc. i, which prepares for the detection of the Ram in Siôn Philip's chimney.

Finally, a series of eight notes is used by Parrott to symbolize "Fate":

Ex. 7



Its segment "y" plays an essential part in the gambling scene, Act II, Sc. ii, which leads up to Lloyd's suicide. Here "y" is transformed into a *basso ostinato*:

Ex. 8



but I doubt if any audience will appreciate its constructive implications. Much rather will it savour the dramatic importance of the ghostly chorus of Siôn Philip's ancestors, crying out from the land of shadows in tribal stubbornness: "Never sell the land", thereby determining Siôn Philip's decision not to give way, and finally reappearing as diabolical apparitions during the scene of Lloyd's disaster.

Parrott's opera contains a wealth of subordinate characters representative of the rural Wales of the 1760s, with bailiffs, drinking-companions, rent payers, Methodists and dancers. Their vocal efforts often culminate in dramatic choruses or simple songs. Sections of straight dialogue cut across the score; occasionally a kind of semi-ecclesiastic recitative (based on the archaic technique

of *tonus currens*) is also employed. The work is scored for a kind of enlarged chamber orchestra, not unlike that employed by Britten in his operas designed for the British Opera Group. It consists of single woodwind and brass, strings, harp, piano, percussion, requiring approximately twelve players besides the five-part strings which may be doubled or not. This score seems eminently suited to operatic societies run by amateurs, but it will of course be enjoyed to a much greater extent in a professional performance. Although substantial extracts from the opera have been not infrequently performed and broadcast since the end of 1952, 'The Black Ram' has still to stand the test of a complete performance in an opera-house.² Meanwhile these introductory remarks are intended to draw attention to the opera's peculiarities of style and subject, without trying to anticipate the verdict of the first night.³

²The vocal score is to be published shortly by Messrs. J. Curwen & Sons. It is to be hoped that the Welsh National Opera Company (even after the somewhat lukewarm success of Hughes's 'Menna' last July) will eventually decide in favour of 'The Black Ram'.

³The present writer wishes to express his thanks to Professor Parrott for the loan of the full score, vocal score and bilingual libretto, as also for valuable information concerning the opera.

THE WIND MUSIC OF J. C. BACH

BY STANLEY SADIE

MOST of the leading composers of the late eighteenth century wrote music for wind band, and J. C. Bach was no exception. His known output in this field comprises a number of marches (mostly written for regiments in continental service), which with two exceptions have survived only in manuscript, and two published sets of works. One, with the interesting polylingual title of 'Sei Sinfonia [*sic*], pour deux clarinettes, deux Cors de Chasse et Basson . . .', printed by Longman & Broderip (London, ?1782), has survived in three copies (two in the Royal Music Library, British Museum¹, and one at the Fürstliches Institut für Musikwissenschaft, Bückeburg); the other, 'Military Piece's, for two clarinets, two horns and a bassoon . . .', printed by B. Cooke (Dublin, ?1794), appears to have survived in only one copy, which the present writer recently found in the library of the Royal Irish Academy of Music, Dublin. These are works of very considerable musical interest and will form the principal topic of this article.

Before discussing these works, we may examine briefly the state of wind music in Britain in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It appears that the only full wind bands in Britain were military bands; there seems to have been no exact counterpart to the Viennese street bands or the private court bands for which Haydn and Mozart wrote. There were many small wind bands of two or four players, and there are a few references to these in contemporary literature: Smollett refers to a wealthy man who was generally attended by his horn players and drove about "in a phaeton-and-four, with French horns"², and Horace Walpole wrote in 1750 "... we marched to our barge, with a boat of French horns attending . . ."³. A small band of horns could be hired to play during supper after the concert at Vauxhall, and tea could be taken at Islington Spa to the accompaniment of French horns. "Choice Pieces on the Clarinets and French horns" were played at Marylebone Pleasure Gardens in 1766, and the same combination was used at Finch's Grotto Gardens in about 1770. At Ranelagh "Favourite Pieces" were played on clarinets and French horns in the Chinese temple during the intervals of the concerts, while the audience strolled

¹ Press-marks R.M.16. b.17.(2) and R.M.17.b.1.(15).

² 'Humphrey Clinker', letter dated 30 April.

³ Letter to George Montagu, 23 June 1750.

round the gardens.⁴ Perhaps Handel's 'Fitzwilliam Overture' was among the works played by such bands. Several sets of duets for two French horns, two clarinets, two trumpets or even two guitars were published and probably provided part of the repertory of these bands. They include 'Twelve duets' (?1750) by the famous Hungarian horn and clarinet virtuoso, Mr. Charles, and four books of "Marches and Trumpet Tunes" published under the title 'Forest Harmony'.

The question arises when and where full wind bands gave concerts. Not at the pleasure gardens, apparently, until 1822⁵: previously they had only perambulated the gardens after the evening concert⁶ or played during circus acts such as tightrope walking. Military bands nearly always played out of doors⁷; in London, for example, concerts were given regularly at St. James's and in the nearby park, at least from 1770 onwards. The title-page of Casper Flack's 'Thirty-six Military Divertimentos' (?1776) continues, after the title, "... as they are performed by His Majesty's Bands at St. James's". Burney, in 1772, writes that "... at St. James's, and in the park, every morning, we now have an excellent band ..."; and Pohl mentions that in 1783 the Guards Band played in St. James's Park every day.⁸ It seems safe to conclude that an exclusive diet of marches and minuets would not have attracted the public for long, and that works such as those by J. C. Bach made up a part of the programmes. In Dublin, where his 'Military Pieces' were published, there were during the eighteenth century at least four gardens at which music was sometimes performed.

The number of publications of military-band parts was small (no doubt owing to the limited demand), but several works for military band were published in pianoforte arrangements. Some collections of military marches were also published in arrangements for orchestra. Perhaps a quarter of the publications of band parts were merely collections of marches, such as those by General John Reid; others, like C. F. Eley's three sets of 'Twelve Military Pieces', included arrangements of popular airs, minuets, marches and troops (pieces to which the band alone marched up and down in front of

⁴ See W. Wroth, 'London Pleasure Gardens of the 18th Century' (London, 1896), pp. 21, 243-4, 296; Adam Carse, 'The Orchestra in the 18th Century' (Cambridge, 1940), p. 130; Mollie Sands, 'Invitation to Ranelagh' (London, 1946), p. 89.

⁵ W. T. Parke, 'Memoirs' II (London, 1830), p. 175.

⁶ At Vauxhall a band of drums, fifes, horns and clarinets was introduced for this purpose in 1783: See Wroth, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

⁷ See A. F. C. Kollmann, 'An Essay on Practical Musical Composition' (London, 1799), p. 94.

⁸ See C. Burney, 'Present State of Music in Germany. . . .' (London, 1773), p. 82, and C. F. Pohl, 'Haydn in London' (Vienna, 1867), p. 164.

its corps⁹). The highest level in military band music was reached in works such as those of J. C. Bach. There are a few other works of this type, but on a smaller scale; they include Rockeman and Alters's 'Six Sonatas' (1773), each in three or four movements, and Flack's single-movement 'Divertimentos' (which fall naturally into nine four-movement groups). A few larger-scale works, such as Hoffmeister's 'Harmonie' and Hoeberecht's 'Grand Military Piece', were published at the very end of the century. No wind-band music by the leading continental composers appears to have been published in England, at least in its original form.

The change from oboes to clarinets as the principal instrument of the military band probably took place gradually between 1755 and 1785. In 1762 the newly founded Royal Artillery Band consisted of four oboes or clarinets, two horns, two bassoons and two trumpets. The band regulations drawn up at that date specify this combination of ten instruments, but also state that the band should number only eight players.¹⁰ Perhaps, if the trumpets were used only for calls and fanfares, they could have been played by the hornists.¹⁰ Oboes were still in use in 1777, for in that year Samuel Wesley wrote a march for two oboes, two horns, two bassoons and a serpent, which is believed to have been intended for one of the Guards Bands.¹¹ One year later,

half a dozen lads of the militia were sent up to London to be taught various instruments to form a military band. The German master Baumgarten put into their hands a new instrument called a "clarionet" which, with its fiery tone, was better adapted to lead armies into the field of battle than the meek and feeble oboe.¹²

In 1783 the Honourable Artillery Company band consisted of four clarinets, two horns, two bassoons and a trumpet. The most usual composition of the larger British military bands was probably the standard German *Harmonie-Musik* combination of two oboes, two clarinets, two horns and two bassoons (as in the supper scene of 'Don Giovanni'), sometimes with the addition of one or two trumpets for calls and fanfares; this was the composition of the three Guards Bands for some years, the players being selected from the King's and patent theatre orchestras. In 1785 a new band, under C. F. Eley, was obtained from Hanover for the Coldstream Guards; this consisted of twelve players—four clarinets, two oboes, two horns, two bassoons, trumpet and serpent.¹³

⁹ See Kollmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

¹⁰ H. Farmer, 'The Rise and Development of Military Music' (London, 1912), p. 58.

¹¹ In the British Museum, Add. MS 35007, ff. 237-38.

¹² W. Gardiner, 'Music and Friends', Vol. III (London, 1853), p. 7.

¹³ See Farmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70. Parke, who is followed by Pohl, states incorrectly that this band came to England in 1783 and consisted of twenty-four men, including three Negro "Turkish music" players. The Turkish music was in fact a later addition.

The minimum size of the military band in the 1770s and 1780s appears to have been five instruments—two clarinets (or oboes), two horns and a bassoon. No doubt many bands included “double-handed” players, who would use the oboe or clarinet as required. Two clarinets, two horns and bassoon is the combination specified in many works, including those of J. C. Bach. It is evident, though, that two bassoonists were usually available, as the part is often divided into two in works where only one bassoon is indicated on the title-page (including Bach’s *sinfonias*, Flack’s *divertimentos* and two sets of Eley’s ‘Military Pieces’). It is divided into three (with an *ad. lib.* marking) in one Eley piece, and there are *solo* and *tutti* markings in another and in the first movement of Bach’s third *sinfonia*. As late as 1790 many works in only five parts were advertised in publishers’ catalogues, although larger bands were usual by then: Preston’s catalogue of that date includes the following five-part compositions: ‘Seven Sonatas’ and two sets of ‘A Selection of Familiar Tunes’ by Rathgen; ‘Thirteen Military Concertos by eminent authors’; ‘Twenty-four Marches as performed by the Guards’. Charles Griesbach’s ‘Twelve Military Divertimentos for a Full . . . or small band’ (?1795) give us some idea of the variations in size of military bands: the “small band” consists of two clarinets, two French horns and a bassoon, the “full band” having in addition two clarinets in E \flat , two flutes in B \flat , a trumpet, a second bassoon and a serpent. (The flutes, which are also used in Schetky’s ‘Collection of Scottish Music . . . arranged for military band’ and a few other works, were no doubt played by double-handed oboists). Much the same combinations are specified for a full and small band in Kollmann’s interesting remarks on military-band scoring.¹⁴

When five-part music was being played, it seems certain that the clarinet and bassoon parts would often have been doubled, at least in *tutti*. It may be that smaller or poorer regiments continued to use only a five- or six-part band for some time, for in many works (even as late as Weilland’s ‘Harmonie’ [?1805]) the oboe parts, though not actually marked *ad lib.*, could probably be omitted if necessary.

We may conclude, then, that J. C. Bach’s wind music was written for performance at military-band concerts, and that Bach probably had in mind the Guards Bands’ concerts in St. James’s Park. We must realize, too, that it is not to be regarded as one-to-a-part chamber music, for the clarinet and bassoon parts were often at least doubled: this should be borne in mind by modern performers of the works.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

None of J. C. Bach's wind music is adequately dealt with in C. S. Terry's authoritative biography of the composer, where the 'Military Pieces', being then (1929) unknown, are of course not mentioned. There are a number of inaccuracies in Terry's thematic catalogue regarding the marches for wind instruments: in the collection of marches in the Royal Music Library¹⁵ there are eight, not six marches ascribed to Bach; the second and fifth of these are omitted altogether by Terry, and four of them are simply different versions of four of the quoted marches for continental regiments. Three other marches quoted by Terry appear in the same collection, but are there ascribed to Abel; doubts therefore arise as to their authenticity.¹⁶ The two minuets quoted by Terry as "Entradas for horns" are in fact not wind music at all: the source for these—a book of dances for Court Balls¹⁷—gives only a keyboard version, but all the dances were originally for orchestra and many are marked, as these two are, "with horns". The sinfonias too are unsatisfactorily treated: in their case only the first-movement incipits are given, and these are in the wrong key, no allowance having been made for the transposition of B♭ clarinets. Moreover, they are placed under the heading "Concerted Symphonies"; Terry must have been misled by the use of the title 'Sinfonia' and assumed that the works included an orchestra not mentioned on the title-page. The only apparent explanation of these errors in an otherwise excellent and accurate book is that Terry could not have examined the works himself.

Despite the titles, the sinfonias have rather more military connotation than the 'Military Pieces', for three of them include marches and one a *cotillon*. They are in fact referred to in Longman & Broderip's catalogues as 'Bach's Military Symphonies'. Each of the works is in four movements; the first is an *Allegro*, in sonata form or one of its variants, the second is a slow movement, the third a march or minuet, and the finale is usually a gay 2-4 movement. Four-movement form is a departure from Bach's usual procedure, for all but two of his orchestral symphonies are in three movements. The sinfonias for wind show distinct signs of having been written in haste, or in adverse circumstances of some sort; several movements give the impression of being routine music turned out to order, though most of the finales, and certainly the first movements of Nos. 3 and 5, cannot be placed in that class. Another more

¹⁵ Under Anon., 'Regimental Marches', R.M.24.k.15.

¹⁶ The second, fourth, fifth and sixth marches in this collection correspond to the fourth quoted on p. 359, the fifth and sixth on p. 360 and the fifth on p. 359. The three ascribed to Abel are the second, third and fourth on p. 360.

¹⁷ In the Royal Music Library, under Weidman, C. F., 'Entradas and Minuets', R.M.24.i.16-18.

convincing testimony to their having been written hastily is the fact that Bach made use of material "borrowed" from other composers: the fourth movement of No. 2 is probably by Boccherini,¹⁸ and the second movement of No. 3 is transcribed exactly from a dance in Gluck's 'Armide'.¹⁹ ('Armide' had been produced in Paris in 1777, and Bach would almost certainly have seen it during his visit there in 1778.) Bach was not a composer who generally made a practice of borrowing from others, and it is fair to conclude that he would only have done so when working under severe pressure. The only other established example of his using another composer's material is in a pianoforte and violin sonata (in B \flat , Op. 10 No. 1), where the first three bars closely resemble the opening of his father's first Partita. Two movements in the sinfonias are taken from others of J. C. Bach's own works: the third movement of No. 1 is the first march in the manuscript collection referred to above, and the third movement of No. 3 is an altered version of the second (and last) movement of a manuscript 'Sinfonia concertante' for strings, oboes and horns.²⁰

We may here consider Karl Geiringer's remark that the sinfonias "are of little artistic interest. Their unusual combination of instruments seems to indicate that they are arrangements".²¹ As we have seen, the combination of instruments is by no means unusual in England. It is not clear whether Geiringer means that the arrangements are by Bach or someone else, but in any case it is evident from an examination of the music that many of the movements were conceived with the particular capabilities of clarinets, horns and bassoons in mind. The observation is, of course, correct with regard to the borrowed movements. His statement that they are of little artistic interest is also open to doubt, especially considering that several of them have been revived recently and have been performed with success.

Our source for the 'Military Pieces'—probably the only surviving one—was quite fortuitously found in July 1954, when the present writer was looking for eighteenth-century chamber-music parts in the library of the Royal Irish Academy of Music. A certain section of the cellars, uncatalogued and comprising over twenty-five yards of shelf space, was being searched. The collection has a fairly wide scope, but the bulk of it consists of mid-nineteenth-century

¹⁸ It appears in the ballet, 'Scuola di ballo', arranged by Jean Françaix from works by Boccherini.

¹⁹ I am indebted to Mr. Arthur Campbell and Mr. Charles L. Cudworth for drawing my attention to these points.

²⁰ In the Royal Music Library, R.M.21.a.8.

²¹ 'The Bach Family' (London 1954), p. 426, footnote.

pianoforte and vocal music and some sets of orchestral parts. It was through the chance opening of a second-horn volume at a page headed 'Quintetto III' that the discovery was made. It was some time before the complete set could be found, as the volumes had become separated; to add to the difficulties, the two clarinet parts and the bassoon part are not in the appropriate volumes, but are bound with the two violin and the violoncello parts. The selection of works bound together in this set is rather mixed; it includes Beethoven's violin Concerto, concertos by Giornovich, Weber's Overture to 'Der Freischütz' and even an orchestral arrangement of a set of variations on 'The Harmonious Blacksmith'.

We shall refer to the works published under the title of 'Military Pieces' as "quintets", as the original title may give a false impression of the nature of the music (the title 'Quintetto' is in fact used at the head of each of the works). There is very little in the quintets that is in fact specifically military, apart from a few martial rhythms, which in any case frequently appear in late eighteenth-century music. These works are of considerably greater musical interest than the sinfonias, particularly in the slow movements. Bach's slow movements were, in his time, regarded as the *pièces de résistance* of his works; Marsh, writing of his overtures, states that the slow movements "seem to be calculated for . . . the boxes (where people of a more refined taste usually sit)".²² As the quintets are unknown and are of greater interest than the sinfonias (which can be seen at the British Museum and have been performed and broadcast in Britain), we shall discuss them in greater detail.

QUINTET No. 1, in E♭.—The first movement is a 2-4 *Allegretto*; its march-like opening rhythm reminds us of the title 'Military Pieces', but any suggestion that this is merely martial music is soon ruled out by one of J. C. Bach's typical pieces of canonic imitation. The movement is in fact in full sonata form, with a fairly long development section centred in the relative minor, as is quite common with Bach and many of his contemporaries. The second movement, a 3-4 *Adagio* in B♭, has some pleasing passages in thirds for the clarinets and an unusually flexible bassoon part. The third and last movement is a minuet; in the trio the clarinets and horns play sustained chords against a bassoon part in *staccato* quavers.

QUINTET No. 2, in E♭.—This has a grand and almost symphonic opening, which is effectively contrasted with *staccato* scale passages

²² John Marsh, 'A Comparison between the Ancient and Modern styles of Music . . .', ('Monthly Magazine', II, pp. 981-6, London, 1796), reprinted in 'M. & L.', April 1955, p. 155.

and a playful second subject. The movement is in what has been called "semi-sonata form"²³; after the development (again largely in the relative minor) the recapitulation altogether omits the first subject, beginning with the second subject in the tonic. After a binary *Andantino* (still in E♭), a very lively 3-8 "hunting"-type movement ends the work. There are points in this quintet which are reminiscent of certain passages in Bach's early symphonies.²⁴

QUINTET No. 3, in B♭.—The first movement, a spirited 3-4 *Allegro* in full sonata form, has great force and certainty of direction. The *Larghetto* is a profound and deeply felt movement in semi-sonata form, containing much that we have so wrongly come to regard as characteristically Mozartian. The clarinet melody of the second subject is of a passionate nature and reminds us how greatly J. C. Bach—unlike the rest of his family—was influenced by Italian opera. The quintet ends with a gay and humorous 2-4 rondo; first the bassoon, then the horns, have prominent parts in the episodes. This is the only movement of the set in rondo form, a fact which argues for the lateness of the works.

QUINTET No. 4, in E♭.—This quintet stands apart from the others and belongs to the somewhat ill-defined category, existing from about 1760 to 1800, of nocturnal music. The main characteristics of this type of piece seem to have been (1) an especially sensuous and sentimental atmosphere and (2) only two movements, the first fairly slow or having a march-like rhythm, the second nearly always a slow minuet. Several complete sets of nocturnal music were published, such as Bach's own 'Six Trios or Nottornos, for two violins and viola or bass', Op. 4 (?1765). (Op. 2, mistakenly, in the first edition.) Some works of this type are found published in mixed sets with works in the more conventional three-movement form; and a few are actually in three movements themselves, the extra one usually being a faster finale or as low movement. It is possible that the first quintet should be regarded as a three-movement "nocturne".²⁵

The fourth quintet, which is in only two movements, clearly belongs to this class of music. The first movement, a 2-4 *Allegro* (which begins with one of Bach's favourite and most characteristic

²³ See Carse, '18th-Century Symphonies' (London 1951), p. 35.

²⁴ The first movements of Op. 3 No. 1, Op. 9 No. 2 and Op. 9 No. 3 (Overture to 'Zanaide'), and the last movement of Op. 3 No. 6.

²⁵ Further examples of nocturnal music are: the Earl of Kelly's 'Six Sonatas for two violins and bass' (1769); Giovanni Gualdo's 'Six Evening Entertainments for two mandolins or violins and bass' (?1767); Nos. 1, 3 and 5 of F. H. Barthélemon's 'Six Sonatas for two violins and bass', Op. 1 (1765); and, in three-movement form, Mozart's 'Serenata notturna' (K.239) and Kammell's 'Six Nottornos for two violins and bass' (1772).

figures), has a march-like rhythm; it is in sonata form and again much of the development section is in the relative minor. The second movement is a most beautiful minuet, which has to be taken slowly to make its full effect. The trio, in C minor, is for clarinets and bassoon only; the constant triplet movement of the second clarinet is distinctly reminiscent of the trio in Mozart's 'Serenata notturna'—in fact at one point the figuration is identical.

The two sets of works show surprising differences in scoring. In the *sinfonias* the bassoon provides the bass part almost constantly, and its higher register is hardly used at all; even when the part is divided into two the first bassoon is very rarely required to play anything of a melodic nature. In the quintets the bassoon part is far more interesting; the bass itself is very often melodic in nature and frequently includes running semiquaver passages. There are many excursions into the top register while the horns provide the bass of the harmony. The horn parts, as may be expected, do not differ significantly between the two sets, but there is some particularly effective writing for E \flat horns in the B \flat movements of the third quintet. In both sets the second clarinet is largely confined to playing in thirds or sixths below the first, but in the quintets the part has more freedom and less of mere accompaniment. At a point in the first quintet Bach shows his understanding of the clarinet by carefully adjusting a semiquaver passage so that it does not lie awkwardly over the "break". Indeed, throughout both sets the writing for all the instruments is effective and idiomatic; but in general the scoring in the quintets is considerably more enterprising than in the *sinfonias*.

There are two interesting notational points in the original parts of the *sinfonias*. Near the beginning of the first movement of No. 2 the second clarinet part is in the bass clef for a few bars, written a seventh below the true pitch rather than a second above—the same convention as was used for writing horn parts in the bass clef. In the last movement of No. 5 the second clarinet part is marked at certain points *Shalmo*, meaning that the passage is to be played an octave lower, in the chalumeau register. This is followed four bars later by *Clar.*, standing for clarion or clarinet register, and signifying a return to written pitch. In both sets of parts there are many misprints and contradictions of dynamic and phrasing markings: the quintets, printed by B. Cooke in Dublin, are worse in this respect than the *sinfonias*, printed by Longman & Broderip in London.

During his last two years, 1780-81, Bach was beset by financial worries, partly due to his largely unsuccessful venture with a series of concerts at the Hanover Square Rooms, and partly to the

dishonesty of his housekeeper. He had lost to J. S. Schroeter his position as the leading pianist and teacher in London, and his health was so seriously affected by disillusionment and anxiety that he had to move out to Paddington for a change of air.²⁶ It seems most likely that the *sinfonias* were composed during this period of stress, as only then would he have been induced to "borrow" or to write music so far below his best. A possibility which must be considered is that the *sinfonias* were not completed by Bach himself, but were finished after his death by his widow, his nephew Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst (who was then in London) or possibly by the publishers. This theory would account very satisfactorily for the borrowings and the weakness of certain movements. At least one other set of works not wholly by Bach was published under his name: the 'Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte . . . with Accompaniment for . . . Flute . . . by the late celebrated John Christian Bach', Op. 19, are such trite and feeble music, and so incompetently written, that it is hard to believe that Bach himself had any hand in them. But the *sinfonias*, unlike these sonatas, show unmistakable signs of Bach's individual style, and there can be little doubt that he at least sketched many of the movements.

The date of publication of the *sinfonias* given in the printed catalogue of the Royal Music Library is "[1708?]"—presumably a misprint for "[1780?]" A long and detailed catalogue published by Longman & Broderip in 1781²⁷ contains a great deal of wind music but does not mention these works, so we may conclude that they were published after that date. An interesting piece of evidence for a date of publication before mid-1782 is that a copy of the works has survived at Bückeburg. Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach (J. C.'s elder brother) was in charge of music at the court there, and his son Wilhelm Friedrich Ernst was in London from 1778 until shortly after John Christian's death on 1 January 1782. There was a good wind band at Bückeburg (this is attested to by the fact that J. C. F. Bach wrote an exacting work for it²⁸), and it is reasonable to conclude that Wilhelm took this copy to Germany with him for these players. If this is so, the works must have been published before he left England, presumably early in 1782.

It is hard to assign a date of composition to the quintets, as the little evidence that has so far come to light is very uncertain and somewhat contradictory. While they seem more advanced stylistically than the *sinfonias*, there is no sign in the music that they

²⁶ See 'Court and Private Life in the time of Queen Charlotte, being the journals of Mrs. Papendiek . . .', Vol. II (London 1887), pp. 133-34, 150-51.

²⁷ In the British Museum, Hirsch, IV, 1110 (1).

²⁸ See Geiringer, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

were composed under the strain and anxiety of Bach's last two years. An argument for a late date is that, if the quintets had been written first, Bach might have borrowed movements from them when working on the sinfonias; but against this is the possibility that he had previously sold the manuscript and could not use the movements again. Cooke, the eventual publisher of the quintets, was an oboist in London before going to Dublin, where his presence is recorded as early as 1779²⁹; if he took the manuscript with him as is clearly possible, the works must have been written before 1779.

The quintets were probably published about 1794. The title-page bears a dedication to the "Right Honorable Lord O'Neill, Col: of the Antrim Militia". O'Neill was created a Baron in 1793 and a Viscount in 1795; had he been a Viscount when the works were published no doubt the dedication would have said Viscount rather than simply Lord. The publisher, Bartlett (or Bartholomew) Cooke, is said to have been in business from about 1794-98³⁰; if this is correct, the quintets must have been published in 1794 or 1795. Clearly the dedication is the publisher's, not Bach's. W. H. Grattan Flood states that "The era of the Volunteers, 1774-84, was marked by band music, and almost every corps had a wind band. . . . After the rejection of Flood's Reform Bill in 1784, the Volunteers collapsed, and the bands dissolved".³¹ However, the publication of wind band music in Dublin in 1794 suggests that there must have been a considerable number of bands still functioning in Ireland.

If we wish to assign the newly found quintets a place in the history of wind music, we must not make the all-too-frequent mistake of comparing such pieces with the later music of Mozart. A true comparison could be made with the lighter and less ambitious wind divertimentos of Mozart's Salzburg period, and here J. C. Bach can almost hold his own. On the other hand, if we compare Bach's wind music with that of his contemporaries in England (such as Flack or Rathgen) his immense superiority is immediately evident. Thus we see him in his true position, just below the highest rank of composers, and we can enjoy his music for what it is.

I am grateful to Mr. Charles L. Cudworth for much help and advice; to Mr. Arthur Campbell for kindly lending me his manuscript scores of J. C. Bach's wind sinfonias; and to the Governors of the Royal Irish Academy of Music for allowing me to have photostatic copies made of J. C. Bach's wind quintets. The quintets are shortly to be published, in score and parts, by Boosey & Hawkes.

²⁹ See W. H. Grattan Flood, 'A History of Irish Music' (Dublin 1904), p. 307.

³⁰ See C. Humphries and W. C. Smith, 'Music Publishing in the British Isles' (London 1954), p. 114.

³¹ See Flood, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

HECTOR BERLIOZ AND ALFRED DE VIGNY

By GLYN COURT

To describe the friendship of Berlioz and Alfred de Vigny as inevitable—the word which springs most readily to the mind—is to employ a glib and misleading epithet which in one respect is paradoxically not so very far from the truth. Berlioz's first contacts with Vigny were made only in the course of the day-by-day literary and artistic life of Paris and were long in developing into a friendship; nor was the character of either man fashioned for friendships easily contracted and as easily dissolved. Nevertheless, there was such an affinity, not of temperament but of intellect, such a similarity of circumstances between them that the ripening of their acquaintance into friendship seems, if not inevitable, at least wholly fitting. Both had the ideal of the aristocracy of the artist; both were conscious of the quasi-divinity of their artistic mission and felt themselves isolated from their contemporaries; and both asserted their independence of schools and made their name in the post-1827 period of Romanticism. They were fervent apostles of Shakespeare, for whom their admiration fell little short of idolatry; and lastly, both were married to wives from across the Channel.

There is of course a world of difference between the profound reserve of Vigny and the constant outgoing of the genius of Berlioz; but there are even more significant similarities. Whatever the defects of Vigny's work, not even the most hostile critic, seeking to demonstrate the irrelevance or inadequacy of its philosophical system, can dispute the stoic nobility of the attitude on which that system is built. Nobility there was also in full measure in Berlioz; perhaps not stoicism, if that implies a disdainful submission to Fortune and the proud man's contumely, though on one occasion, during the period of discouragement following the composition of 'Les Troyens', we find him echoing the thought and almost the very words of his friend:

Quand je suis malade d'esprit, . . . j'ai soin de m'abstenir d'écrire aux personnes auxquelles je crains de paraître sous un jour défavorable. Je suis alors comme un loup blessé, et je n'ai rien de mieux à faire que de me blottir dans un coin et de laisser saigner mes blessures;

but in general he offered vociferous and effective resistance. He substituted for stoicism an unflagging energy and inexhaustible

courage in which facile optimism played little part. The bludgeonings of Fate may have often wrung cries from him, but they were cries of protest and defiance, not whimperings; and the qualities Berlioz respected most of all in other men were nobility and compassion, though particularly, be it noted, when these went hand in hand with intellectual qualities.

One other point of similarity remains to be noted. Berlioz's love of the greatest in literature is well known; less generally appreciated is Vigny's feeling for music. Without making him a musician of the order of Ingres or Edgar Quinet, for instance, we can at least do him the justice of remarking that he avoided the dilettantism of all too many of his contemporaries, the Rossiniolatry and the worship of *bel canto*, and reserved his greatest enthusiasm for the music most worthy of it. His mother had been an excellent pianist and had taught him much more than the bare essentials, and even though he did not persist in his study of music he retained and exercised a discriminating interest in the art.

The characters of Berlioz and Vigny being as they were, their respect was obviously mutual; and just as obviously it must have been almost immediate. But from respect to friendship is a long journey, and there were many barriers. Vigny's aristocratic reserve did not encourage an easy intimacy, and Berlioz himself was of too finely-wrought a nature to have attempted to impose it; and so the acquaintance ripened gradually.

It is not certain when Berlioz and Vigny first met, but sundry facts indicate that it was not later than 1830. Berlioz was on very good terms with the little band of poets who had collected round Vigny after the break with Hugo, for his own reaction to 'Hernani' had been conservative. He could not view Hugo's innovations as reforms, and he also found the poet's personal manner antipathetic. "Il trône trop", he wrote some years later. But the poets of Vigny's following were soon among his acquaintance, and it is likely that in spite of his intense activity at this time, one of them, most probably Brizeux, the young Breton poet, or Auguste Barbier, took him along to some of Vigny's Wednesday *séances*.

In the last days of 1830 Berlioz reluctantly left Paris, being obliged by the terms of his Prix de Rome to spend the next period of his career in Italy. His absence did not, however, entirely sever him from the group, for when Barbier and Brizeux made their first journey to Italy they called to see him at the Villa Medici in January 1832. Berlioz returned to Paris in October of that same year and lost no time in picking up the threads of his life.

While at Florence the previous year he had admired Benvenuto

Cellini's Perseus in the Piazza della Signoria; he records having cast a final look at it, with its inscription "Si quis te laeserit, ego tuus ultor ero", before he set out for Nice on his mission of revenge; and he conceived an immense enthusiasm for the personality and career of Cellini, possibly because he saw a parallel between his own artistic life and that of the Florentine. We know that at this stage of his career he was particularly drawn towards opera, and it is more than probable that the idea of an opera on the subject of Cellini had already occurred to him and that he tried to interest Vigny in the writing of a libretto, for less than a month after Berlioz's return we find Vigny asking the Bibliothèque Nationale for a copy of Cellini's Autobiography. But even if he began such a libretto there is no sign that he persevered; either he turned that work over to Barbier and another of his followers, Léon de Wailly, or else Berlioz himself asked them to undertake it.

Less than twelve months later Berlioz's protracted wooing of Harriet Smithson had come to fruition, and their wedding-day was approaching. He was now contemplating a joint concert with her to restore her gravely damaged confidence, to help pay off her crippling debts and to keep his own name before the public. Vigny had influence in the theatrical world and Berlioz had hopes of interesting him in the concert, and through him of course Madame Dorval, and even of persuading him to write a short play for Harriet. His letter was couched in a tone of cordiality and respect, but still not of familiarity:

Seriez-vous assez bon pour disposer en ma faveur d'une heure dans l'après-midi de mercredi prochain? Mlle Smithson m'accompagnera. Je suis heureux de pouvoir lui procurer l'avantage de faire votre connaissance qu'elle ambitionne depuis longtemps. Elle est bien triste, bien découragée . . . Les suites de son accident l'éloignent encore pour quelques mois du théâtre et lui donnent une timidité qui me porte à vous prier de nous recevoir seuls s'il est possible. Vous pourrez vraisemblablement nous donner quelques renseignements dont nous avons besoin. En outre, vous m'avez témoigné assez de sympathie affectueuse pour que je n'hésite pas à vous prier de rassurer ma pauvre Ophélie sur son avenir. [It was in the part of Ophelia that Harriet had first acted in Paris in 1827.]

The interview was a success. Madame Dorval promised to take part in the concert as Adèle in Dumas's 'Antony', Harriet was to play Ophelia in scenes from Act IV of 'Hamlet', Liszt was to perform Weber's 'Konzertstück', while Berlioz would conduct the 'Symphonie fantastique', his prize cantata 'Sardanapale' and the 'Francs-Juges' overture.

Four such distinguished names promised a brilliantly successful

concert. Madame Dorval's disposition was an untested quality, but Berlioz was assured of Liszt's devotion to him; and for Harriet, discouraged by her long relegation to minor parts, a success was vitally important. Failure would be undeniable confirmation of an indifference which she might till now have attributed to nothing more serious than a change in fashions.

The concert called for incessant and minutely careful preparations, but at the end of two months, on 24 November, it took place at the Théâtre Italien. It was a triumph for Liszt and Madame Dorval, and disaster for Berlioz and Harriet; the public was indifferent to Ophelia, and a large part of the orchestra, not being bound by contract to remain after midnight, deserted their conductor. But a month later (22 December) Berlioz took "une furieuse revanche" with a concert at the Conservatoire, "avec un succès plus grand que je n'en ai obtenue ma vie". Harriet was delighted as Alfred de Vigny, Hugo, Émile Deschamps, Eugène Sue and Legouvé showered congratulations upon her husband.

All in all, and in spite of poverty, these first years of their marriage were supremely happy. They took a small cottage at Montmartre and delighted to entertain their friends who came up from the city for tea. Harriet became very much attached to her domestic life and showed little desire to take up her career again. "Henriette ne sort guère", Berlioz wrote to his sister. But they were a sociable couple; they often dined out and as often received visits from Liszt, Chopin, Hiller, the Deschamps, Legouvé and Vigny and his followers, when they would discuss—who better?—"art, poésie, pensée, musique, drame, enfin ce qui constitue la vie, en présence de cette belle nature".

It was toward Liszt and Vigny in particular that Berlioz felt himself drawn. "Je voudrais te voir", he once wrote to Liszt.

De Vigny viendra-t-il? Il a quelque chose de doux et d'affectueux dans l'esprit qui me charme toujours mais qui me serait presque nécessaire aujourd'hui . . . Pourquoi n'êtes-vous point là tous les deux. . . . Tiens, viens me voir. Amène-moi de Vigny: tu me manques, vous me manquez. . . . Pourquoi ne puis-je me corriger d'admirer avec une passion si tenace certaines productions fragiles après tout, comme nous-mêmes, comme tout ce qui existe.

It was almost certainly at one of these gatherings, on 5 May, at which Vigny, Liszt and Chopin were present, that Berlioz broached, or renewed, the subject of the opera on Benvenuto Cellini and arranged for Barbier and Wailly to undertake the libretto with the help of Vigny and under the supervision of the composer. Such was the arrangement, but Vigny's share, in the event, was little more than the provision of an illustrious name. His other

work on hand, 'Chatterton' and 'Servitude et grandeur militaires', prevented him from taking a very active part; but Barbier and Wailly, spurred on by Berlioz, quickly sketched out a plan and began to put together the verses of a libretto.

It was soon completed, and the authors applied for an audition at the Opéra-Comique. Meanwhile Berlioz, to whom the favour of the Bertin family gave reasonable hope of acceptance, wrote one chorus for the score. At the end of August the authors read the poem to the director, Crosnier, but not even the Bertin influence could make Berlioz and his ideas acceptable to the Opéra-Comique, and the allegedly poor quality of the libretto was a good enough excuse for staving him off. "On me regarde", he wrote to his friend Humbert Ferrand, "comme un bouleverseur du genre national."

Their reception at the Opéra was not much more satisfactory, even though Vigny's name had been added; the director, Véron, havered and postponed the question indefinitely. For the moment Berlioz laid the opera aside, though he worked steadily on with other music, polishing 'Harold in Italy', which he had completed in June.

Vigny's and Berlioz's frequent visits to each other's homes had been leading to a greater intimacy, and Berlioz watched his friend's literary progress with interest and enthusiasm. Just before the first performance of 'Chatterton' he wrote to him: "J'irai . . . applaudir . . . avec la chaleur d'affection et d'enthousiasme que je ressens pour le poète et la cause qu'il plaide si bien", and the play impressed him deeply; indeed, the subject itself could scarcely do otherwise. The praise of Berlioz and of the other poets may have helped to reconcile Vigny to his success with the public. . . . Writing to Brizeux, away in his native Brittany, he cried: "Où étiez-vous quand Auguste Barbier, Berlioz, Antoni [Deschamps] et tous mes bons et fidèles amis me serraient sur leur poitrine en pleurant, où étiez-vous? Mon premier mot à Berlioz a été, 'Si Brizeux était ici!'" But Berlioz did not voice his enthusiasm to Vigny alone, and to his friend Ferrand he wrote: "C'est une rare intelligence, un esprit supérieur que j'admire et que j'aime de toute mon âme. Il publiera aussi dans peu la suite de 'Stello'; n'admirez-vous pas le style de son dernier ouvrage ['Servitude et grandeur militaires']? Comme c'est senti! comme c'est vrai!"

In August 1835 Véron was succeeded at the Opéra by Duponchel, and Berlioz had fresh cause for hope. Three months later Duponchel accepted the opera and seemed to be most favourably inclined, but Thiers at the Ministry of Fine Arts refused to confirm his decision. Berlioz then tried for a contract on certain conditions, but the

director hedged; nevertheless, by the following August a concentrated journalistic attack had forced from him a written guarantee that the opera would be put on sooner or later:

Il ne s'agit que de prendre patience jusqu'à l'écoulement des ouvrages qui doivent passer avant le mien; il y en a trois malheureusement! Le directeur Duponchel est toujours plus engoué de la pièce et se méfie tous les jours davantage de ma musique, (qu'il ne connaît pas, comme de juste!)

The next year saw the composition of the Requiem and manoeuvrings for its performance. When this finally took place in the Invalides in December, Vigny was there, and the description in his 'Journal' is admirably concise yet vivid:

L'aspect de l'église était beau; au fond sous la coupole, trois longs rayons tombaient sur la catafalque préparée et faisaient resplendir les lustres de cristal d'une singulière lumière. Tous les drapeaux pris sur l'ennemi étaient rangés au haut de l'église et pendaient, tout percés de balles. La musique était belle et bizarre, sauvage, convulsive et douloureuse. Berlioz commence une harmonie et la coupe en deux par des dissonances imprévues qu'il a calculées exprès.

Berlioz himself was fairly well pleased with the performance:

Le Requiem a été bien exécuté; l'effet a été terrible sur la grande majorité des auditeurs; la minorité qui n'a rien senti ni compris, ne sait trop que dire. . . . C'est un succès qui me popularise, c'était le grand point.

He was very soon to find that this success was deceptive, and certainly the voice of the critic was not stilled. No such respite could be looked for as long as he remained true to himself, but one immediate purpose was served: he was enabled to force a decision at the Opéra, and in March 1839 'Benvenuto Cellini' was put into rehearsal.

This is not the place to record the opera's misadventures, beyond remarking that the hostile element in the audience saw to it that the work did not receive more than four performances, after which Berlioz, taking no pains to conceal his disgust, wrote to Duponchel:

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous annoncer que *je retire mon opéra de Benvenuto*. Je suis intimement convaincu que vous l'apprendrez avec plaisir.

The name of Vigny, who was down in the country on his estate, whence he left for England, had been dropped from the list of collaborators, which now showed only Barbier and Wailly. The section of the press friendly to Berlioz attributed the failure to the libretto (the hostile element, of course, to the music). Yet the

poem had borne the names of three distinguished authors. Barbier, though living somewhat on past glories, was still the poet of the 'Iambes', and Léon de Wailly's literary reputation was well-grounded; moreover, Vigny was known to have contributed anonymously. Indeed, the pooriness of the libretto has been grossly exaggerated. Its most serious fault is the occasional insufficiency of dramatic tension and lifelessness of dialogue. It was simply ill-fortune that in a number of phrases the authors gave hostages to boors.

Vigny, at all events, having once revised it, was not unwilling to let his name stand. Just what share, apart from this revision, did he take? There is no trace of this either in his own writings or in those of Berlioz, but Alphonse Karr stated in his 'Guêpes' of November 1840 that "un nouveau collaborateur, un des noms les plus illustres de la littérature, M. Alfred de Vigny, vint jeter encore quelques perles dans le poème [*'Les Ciseleurs'*] et l'opéra fut joué". This statement may have been had from hearsay, but Karr was in touch with most of the figures of the literary world, and his information was generally correct, even though his conclusions may frequently have been biased and his intellectual conceit insufferable.

Berlioz, deeply wounded and profoundly disappointed by the failure of his opera, nevertheless had some consolation in the admiration accorded him by Paganini, and it was thanks to the latter's princely gift that he was able to set to work immediately on a new symphony, untroubled by financial cares. This work, the 'Romeo and Juliet' Symphony, was written in seven months, and a little before the first performance in November 1839 Vigny received a lively note which ran thus:

Bonjour!—On m'a dit que vous étiez rétabli et je tiens à vous avoir dimanche!—La reine Mab m'a confié qu'elle avait une passion pour vous.

There was indeed good company for Vigny at the concert on the 24th—"toutes les notabilités intelligentes de Paris"—and both artistically and financially it was a success. "C'était un cerveau que votre salle de concert", Balzac told him a couple of days later.

In March 1840 'Chatterton' was being revived. The overwhelming success of Vigny's drama in 1835 gave no clue to its possible reception now, and Berlioz, anxious to see his friend's triumph repeated, resolved that however fickle the public might be, he would at least try to bring the critics on to the side of the angels. Accordingly he wrote to their "prince", asking him not to deal harshly with Vigny:

C'est un de mes meilleurs amis depuis de longues années. Je ne vous dis rien de son talent que vous connaissez aussi bien que moi,

mais je crois que vous avez pris sa doctrine littéraire à rebrousse-poil. Cela m'est peut-être arrivé dans mon domaine musical. . . .

Janin's response was not particularly accommodating: his article in the 'Journal des Débats' was largely devoted to an unflattering account of Chatterton's life and several expressions of regret that an actress of Madame Dorval's talent should waste herself upon ephemeral dramas; but Berlioz had tried.

He was now entering upon a new phase of his career. Checked at home, he determined to carry the war abroad, and the 1840s were an unending succession of foreign tours and concerts and a period of comparatively small production when, a foiled circuitous wanderer, he was forced to forgo the society of poets. But evidence that his admiration and friendship for Vigny had not been dimmed by the infrequency of their meetings is provided by two letters written on the double occasion of a benefit performance of 'Chatterton' and the election of Vigny to the Academy in May 1845. (The glimpse into the customs of the journalistic world is particularly interesting):

Mon cher de Vigny,

Je sais qu'on donne rarement des billets pour les représentations à bénéfice; si pourtant vous pouvez disposer de deux places, . . . vous me ferez un très grand plaisir et, comme il y a là-dessous un prétexte musical, puisqu'on y chante, je pourrai parler de la représentation dans un de mes feuilletons. Cette indiscretion n'a eu d'autre cause que le désir que nous avons de revoir 'Chatterton'.

A week later he wrote:

Mon cher de Vigny,

Admirez mon malheur! Il se trouve que nos deux chanteurs ont été grotesques! . . . Le public les a conspués! Ils sont de mes amis! . . . Je n'en puis donc rien dire. Plus de prétexte pour parler de la représentation, et impossibilité pour moi d'entrer dans le domaine littéraire par cette porte dérobée. Armand [Bertin] ne me l'eût pas plus permis qu'il ne permet à Janin de mettre le pied sur mes terres. Plaiguez-moi de ne pouvoir pas dire ce que je sens si vivement, mon admiration pour vos œuvres et en particulier pour 'Chatterton'. Peut-être le redonnera-t-on quelque jour avec des chanteurs moins inexorables! . . .

P.S. Je ne vous ai pas encore félicité du fauteuil qui vient de vous tomber sur la tête [Vigny's "chair" at the Academy]. Cela rapporte de 16 à 18 cents francs par an! Il y a d'autres grands poètes qui ont eu à subir comme vous cet accident. Un académicien n'est pas tenu d'être plus bête qu'un autre homme (pour parodier le mot de votre quaker) et si vous, Hugo, Lamartine et Chateaubriand voulez vous donner la peine de frotter ferme vos confrères, peut-être parviendrez-vous à les enduire d'un peu d'esprit et de sentiment poétique et d'amour de l'art. Adieu, adieu, tout est pour le mieux dans la meilleure des académies possibles.

But there is no record of his reaction to Vigny's humiliating reception at the Academy.

At the beginning of November 1847 Berlioz paid his first visit to London, where by arrangement with the impresario Jullien he was to direct the orchestra of the Drury Lane Theatre, conduct a series of concerts of his own music and begin a three-act opera. Berlioz announced to a friend:

Le directeur est prêt à tous les sacrifices et ne compte que sur la seconde année. Les chœurs et l'orchestre en revanche sont splendides. Pour mes concerts, nous ne commencerons qu'en janvier; je crois qu'ils marcheront bien.

Sanguine though he may have been over the anticipated reception of his music, he did not intend to neglect any openings, and he knew that the support of London society would count for a great deal; so three weeks before his first concert he wrote to Vigny to obtain an introduction to Gore House, for this was still a centre of London society and the bailiffs' visit was some twelve months away. His letter is incidentally so interesting a commentary on the contemporary English theatre that it must be quoted at some length:

Mon cher de Vigny,

Je vais jouer ici dans trois semaines une partie très sérieuse et d'où dépend peut-être tout mon avenir en Angleterre. Je donne mon premier concert à Drury-Lane le 7 février prochain. Je crois que vous connaissez beaucoup le comte d'Orsay, il pourrait m'être d'une utilité dans son cercle et dans celui de lady Blessington. Voulez-vous être assez bon pour me donner deux lignes pour lui. . . . Je serai très fier et très heureux de pouvoir être présenté par vous.

Macready m'a chargé de le rappeler à votre souvenir. Il a magnifiquement mis en scène et admirablement joué dernièrement une tragédie intitulée 'Philippe d'Artevelde', au Princess Theatre: malgré ses efforts cependant, la pièce n'a obtenu aucun succès. Un jeune acteur fait en ce moment fureur dans 'Othello'; on en parle comme d'un John Kemble. Je ne l'ai pas vu et son nom m'échappe. L' 'Antigone' de Sophocle, représentée à Saint James Theatre, ces jours-ci, par Bocage et quelques *poor players* français, avec les chœurs de Mendelssohn, n'a pu faire qu'une recette et demie. Je suis chargé de monter et de diriger l' 'Iphigénie en Tauride' de Gluck à Drury-Lane; si miss Birch ne chante pas trop faux, j'espère que nous serons plus heureux.

Vigny obligingly wrote to the Comte d'Orsay, sparing no praise of his friend and of his "rare et sérieux mérite"; "ce beau et réel talent de compositeur", he added,

semble surtout, en musique, ce qu'est celui d'un sombre paysagiste, en peinture. En l'écoutant, je songe toujours involontairement au 'Déluge' du Poussin. . . . Il peint par les notes, il fait voir ce qu'il

décrit, on suit des yeux, cela est certain, la folle Mab galopant dans le cerveau d'un page et dans celui d'un magistrat.

The Comte d'Orsay, for his part, was delighted and impressed with the personality of his new acquaintance. He wrote to Vigny by return of post:

Je me suis retrouvé en pays de connaissance avec lui, car il est aussi ami d'Eugène Sue, de Liszt et enfin de tous les bergers de notre époque, car la société ne se compose que de ces derniers, et d'innombrables moutons.

Berlioz was no less pleased:

J'y ai reçu l'accueil le plus gracieux du maître et de la maîtresse de la maison. Ils m'ont parlé de vous comme en parlent tous ceux qui vous connaissent; mais j'ai eu bien du regret de donner à M. d'Orsay l'adorable lettre d'introduction que vous m'aviez permis de lire en la recevant. Cette lettre est un chef d'œuvre d'esprit, de style et de bonté (cette rare qualité que je mets au-dessus de toutes les autres et qui ne se trouve guère bien pure qu'unie à une intelligence élevée). Elle m'a fait sentir de nouveau combien il est doux d'aimer les gens qu'on admire. Merci! je vous serre la main de tout mon cœur.

Bocage est de retour à Paris. L'acteur tragique dont je vous ai parlé se nomme Brooke: il continue à faire fureur dans 'Nouveau moyen de payer ses vieilles dettes' . . .

Adieu, adieu, *remember me!* *I am very happy to be able to call myself your friend.*

Those last words in English would seem a fitting note on which to end; but something still remains. Other letters, written at the time of 'Enfance du Christ' and 'Les Troyens', bear witness that in spite of long periods when the absence of one or the other from Paris interrupted their communications, their friendship was only severed by the death of Vigny in 1863.

Barbier in his 'Souvenirs personnels' recounts one final incident which nobly closed the friendship of these two noble men:

Tout ce qui touchait au grand et au beau l'ébranlait . . . Nous assistions tous deux à l'enterrement d'un ami commun. Pendant tout le service et au cimetière le compositeur resta silencieux et sombre. A la sortie du cimetière, il me dit: "Je rentre chez moi, venez-y; nous lirons quelques pages de Shakespeare."—"Volontiers." Nous montâmes, et, installés, il lut la scène d'Hamlet au tombeau d'Ophélie. Son émotion fut extrême et deux ruisseaux de larmes s'échappèrent de ses yeux.

Now there is no conclusive proof that this scene took place after the funeral of Vigny, but as his sympathetic biographer has pointed out, the conception is so harmonious and fitting that we may for once be forgiven for accepting it somewhat uncritically, and for seeing in Berlioz's action a desire to close with the poet whom they both worshipped the cycle of a friendship which had begun in the far-off, brighter days of romanticism.

THE HYBRID CRITIC

By MORTON DEMMERY

NOWADAYS, in English music, the words are beginning to matter. Not since the seventeenth century have we paid so much attention to words, and if, in listening to performances, it is the music which makes the first and most dynamic impression on our consciousness, the existence of apt words is coming to be regarded by composers as a necessary foundation for their building, and by listeners as rather more than merely a peg for their composers' work. This means that we have to breed a new kind of critic, one who is sensitive to the interaction of words and music.

The composer, in this age of the common man, is accessible to many who hitherto turned for their spiritual refreshment to the poet alone. The multitude now accept the musician as a part of daily life, perhaps as a result of the diffusion since 1902 of what Mr. T. S. Eliot may allow us to call "culture" in many of our schools and, of course, the invention of broadcasting. Meanwhile the artist, who has something to say and derives satisfaction from saying it, is himself realizing more than ever that the channels of communication, so familiar separately to both poet and musician, can with considerable success be combined. He can see forming in front of him an audience both literary and musical. And the critic who must be able honestly to screen this audience from ineffective work on the one hand, and be articulate on behalf of the audience on the other, needs to be expert at balancing the rival claims of musical and literary values. We need a hybrid critic bred from musical and literary experience and training, a hybrid not perceptive of work only on the heroic level, as was Wagner, but perceptive of work of all kinds, in all moods, at all levels of solemnity and frivolity.

Perhaps nobody has done more than I. A. Richards to weld an instrument of practical poetical criticism from the separate materials of contemporary psychological knowledge and the long tradition of poetical criticism from the past. His 'Practical Criticism' shows how eminently workable his instrument of criticism can be. His work is our most recent *rationale* of the task of that critic who sets out to assess the value of poetry and wishes to embody in this method of approach the accepted new knowledge which the psychologists have offered.¹ His criticism strikes the balance between empiricism,

¹ For instance, in Part iii, Chapter 1, of 'Practical Criticism', I. A. Richards lays out what are, in his view, the four kinds of "meaning" in poetry. They are *Sense*, *Feeling*, *Tone* (the poet's unconscious attitude to the reader) and *Intention* (the poet's conscious attitude to the reader). He remarks, rather dryly, on p. 188, that "much of what passes for criticism of poetry is, in effect, a description of the poet's *tone* or *intention*, maybe his *feeling*".

traditional knowledge and common sense. An artist, no less than a critic, who ignores the latter, does so at his peril. What we need now is a hybrid critic who will think out for us an approach to the work of art embodying words and music, which is at once as practical as that of I. A. Richards and will incorporate new knowledge now accessible to us. Having established the *rationale* of his approach to criticism, the hybrid critic might well test out his method on work produced by a combination of poets and musicians.

There have, in the past, been hybrid critics—men whose work is probably more familiar to men of letters than to musicians. Unfortunately too many of these old writers adhered so rigidly to certain traditional points of view that their work seems to be lacking in perception, and if they broke away from traditional attitudes to poetry they built up their criticism from scientific facts which were imperfectly understood. The science of acoustics is in any case a recent one: the advent of broadcasting and the telephone has given it its greatest impetus, and it can hardly be said to have existed before the investigations of Helmholtz. The hybrid critic must necessarily give some attention to the scientific basis of the two arts whose relationship he is seeking to establish, but so far studies of poetry or of music carried out by men who have knowledge of the facts of the behaviour of sound have tended to lack critical perceptiveness.

M. M. Macdermott, for instance, writing in 'Psyche Monograph' 13, 1940, on 'Vowel Sounds in Poetry', fails to see the wood for the trees when he links up, in the form of a table, vowels whose constituent sounds are of a low frequency with certain specific scenes and actions such as "sheltered objects; covered or hidden" or "downward motion" or "dull numbing cold". "Exposed and barren scenes", asserts this writer, must be associated with vowel sounds whose constituents are notes of a high frequency. Behind writers such as this lies a considerable company who have attempted the same kind of thing, interested in and knowledgeable of music as they so often were. They rarely managed the intellectual poise and detachment that is the mark of the perceptive critic. A hybrid critic of the stature of a Coleridge or a T. S. Eliot has never yet emerged from the cocoon of prosody.

There have been glimmerings of sense even from the prosodists. Daniel Webb's 'Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music' (1769) throws out occasionally perceptive remarks. In the hoary old debate as to whether the stress in English words is based on length in time or energy used in their utterance he can chime in with "the quantities of syllables are determined by

accent, and the accent by feeling"; and it is as no mere rule-maker that he can state that "in our verse, it is the sense that gives vigour to the movement". But these interesting remarks unhappily remain isolated; having read his comments through we are left with no sense of his having seen the poems as a whole. The isolated remarks occur when Webb comes up momentarily for air, leaving for a while his sea-bed gropings with the effect of pause and accent in verse; his occasional glimpses of the whole wide world of poetry and music are no part of a steady view.

The writers who interested themselves in the make-up of verse borrowed, often enough, the ideas and even the nomenclature of music. John Mason's treatise 'An Essay on the Power of Numbers, and the Principles of Harmony in Poetical Composition' (1749) never reveals what poetical composition is, beyond, of course, an arrangement of the *time* element and *force* element in those words found to make up poems. Gildon, publishing his 'Complete Art of Poetry' in 1718, could define "numerous verse" as the "*loudness & softness* of the voice, as well as the *high* and the *low* as is express'd in musick". Never do these writers let their painstaking and so often perceptive remarks on the nature of the sounds of poetry grow into a critical attitude to verse and music. Bysshe, whose popular anthology, with its 'Art of English Poetry', was first published in 1702, does not even think beyond the classicist's assertion that a line of poetry must contain only the right number of syllables.

Our hybrid critic can look to his elders only on the literary side of the fence because the musicians do not, until much more recently, appear to have been articulate. The two great histories of the eighteenth century mark the first time the musicianly volcanoes erupted, so to speak, and allowed the red-hot lava to cool into words and thoughts which their fellows could examine at leisure. The hybrid critic must be grateful to Hawkins and Burney for instigating the discipline of musicology, but beyond that he looks in vain for any outstanding work arising from music.

Nevertheless, the ingenious Joshua Steele, dedicating his 'Prosodia Rationalis' jointly to the Royal Society and the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts in 1779, at least bridged the gap between the earlier prosodists and the more modern acoustic investigators. Steele recognized the common ground between the stuff of music and the stuff of poetry by pressing into service for the analysis of the sounds of verse a refined musical staff and notation. "To be or not to be" could be written down (and was, as pronounced by Garrick himself) on a cleffed stave showing quarter-tones, the slide of each sound—based upon a crude experiment with a

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double-bass—the degree of force of each sound, its length in time, its *crescendo* or *diminuendo* effect and its strength compared to other sounds in the same line. Steele was the first to state clearly the three elements of the sound of verse as being pitch, time and force; he made no claim to link his clear thinking on to the wider considerations which interest a critic of a complicated form of art.

Modern prosodists have continued Steele's work. They have now the stimulus of gadget technicians with electrophonic devices to make investigations more thorough and conclusions more realistic. Before the technicians in the telephone laboratories and the sound engineers at the B.B.C. took over, writers such as the American Cary F. Jacobs ('The Foundation and Nature of Verse', 1918) and T. S. Omond ('A Study of Metre', 1920), and before them D. C. Miller and Sydney Lanier, were investigating the nature of sounds of a line of verse: their conclusions are always the result of a process of dissection and sound oddly like a description of a harmony exercise worked by an ingenious and imaginative student who does not always keep to the rules. Their description of the sounds of a line of verse are illuminating, and occasionally they relate an observed fact with a detail of poetic effect. But they seem never to take more than one step in this direction, when we who are watching look to them to leap up in the air and fly, so that they may give us a view of the whole countryside and colour their critical description with a knowledge of the minutiae of sound which we know them to have.²

Poetry, after all, relies for its force on being a part of the world of articulate ideas. This truism would seem less uncalled-for if investigators into the nature of the sounds of poetry had shown signs of being aware of it. But they are not, any more than are the musicians, men whose knowledge is of the quality of sounds and whose imagination is stirred by the possibilities of its infinite variety, and whose intellectual interest is in the obscure shapes of "form" and not in the manifold realities we live through in our daily lives. Our hybrid critic must be trained not only as a prosodist—or musician, for I think they are very nearly the same thing—but he must be trained in and able to deal with articulate ideas. That really is the core of this article. It is a plea for a *rationale* of criticism based on all the facts that the prosodists have been pointing out about the nature of sounds, in speech no less than in music, and

² In this connection mention must be made of the work of Sir Richard Paget. His investigations into the nature of the vowel sounds made by the human voice are well known. Gerard Mackworth-Young's 'What Happens in Singing' (1953) contains in Appendix II a table which shows how various investigators using laboratory devices and instruments have recently been able to substantiate very largely the facts deduced by Paget using only his personal idiosyncrasies when making and recording his investigations.

which the acoustical engineers have been confirming; and based equally upon an intimacy with traditions and fashions in ideas and an ease of movement in articulate thinking which we have hitherto associated more particularly with the best of our literary critics and historians. If I. A. Richards is the literary critic with a knowledge of psychology, the present state of music with words calls for a literary critic with a knowledge of the science of sound.

The hybrid critic must proceed in the light of three complementary ideas: that music is "form", that words (and especially poetry) are articulate meaning, and that both are sounds of an extremely complex nature, whose basis is the physical realities of time, pitch and force.

With this quite clear, what, then, must our hybrid critic do with this poem?

AUBADE

Jane, Jane,
Tall as a crane,
The morning light creaks down again.

Comb your cockscorn-ragged hair,
Jane, Jane, come down the stair.

Each dull, blunt wooden stalactite
Of rain creaks, hardened by the light,

Sounding like an overtone
From some lonely world unknown.
etc.

Its author, Dr. Edith Sitwell, in her book called 'Poetry and Criticism' (1925) exalts her poet almost to the status required of our new critic. The poet, she says, must be a kind of master-artist, using the material of all the other arts, in whose hands all sense-perceptions are interchangeable. "When the speech of one sense is insufficient to contain his entire meaning, he uses language of another. He knows, too, that every sight, touch, sound, smell of the world we live in has its meaning; and it is the poet's duty to interpret those meanings." In other words, if music is "form", so too can poetry be "form", with articulate meaning playing a part of secondary importance. This possibility is calculated to perplex our hybrid critic; but, really, ought not Lewis Carroll to have made us laugh by writing his 'Jabberwocky' as a quartet for two bassoons, double-bass and drums? For here indeed we are on the borderland between poetry and music, the poet writing as if he were a musician, and the musician—well, probably puzzled by the poet's effrontery.

Many other poets, of course, are very near to the border indeed:

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T. S. Eliot in particular at times, among eminent modern poets. Nevertheless a work of art relying primarily on patterns of sound (of pitch, duration or force)—in other words, form—is most properly called music. Yet any work of art which has a rational message to impart, as part of its total effect, will give the artist immeasurably wider scope if words are used: it must be expressed as poetry. Nor, having admitted this, shall we cease to be delighted at the braying of an ass in Mendelssohn's overture to 'A Midsummer Night's Dream' or at the sneeze at the beginning of Kodály's 'Háry János' Suite. We may even be persuaded to shudder suitably at the well-known picture of heavy industrialization conjured up by Mossolov's 'Steel Foundry'. These pieces are the exceptions which suggest the validity of the rule—or dictum, for rules in art are the works of the devil—that form is music and articulate meaning is poetry.

It is in the light of these principles that our hybrid critic might expect to pass interesting comment on works written for words combined with music, and in the light of his technical knowledge of the behaviour of sound.

The procedure, then, for a profitable examination of a worthy poem set by a worthy composer may be somewhat as follows. Let us take as an example Dryden's 1687 ode 'From Harmony, from heav'nly Harmony', set by Handel in 1739. It is worth noticing that after the Restoration, broadly speaking, the arts of literature and music drifted widely apart, and it is not easy to find an English work of the eighteenth or nineteenth century whose words and music are equally worthy of attention: English hybrid critics would have had a lean time until the twentieth century was well advanced. For this there are reasons which can find no place in this article—except that the arrival of the social habit of public concert-going in England was undoubtedly one cause of the despite in which composers held their words after Dryden and Handel were dead. The literary world's dislike of music from this time onwards is notorious.

It will be remembered that the substance of Dryden's ode is a pæan to music, starting with the idea that some principle of harmony lies at the core of the universe. The ideas always move from the general to the less general, and so to a detailed particular. Dryden concludes the ode with a general idea, advancing in the last two lines to an idea which can only be apprehended mystically, as revealed truth, beyond mere rational understanding.

The pattern of ideas from general to less general in stanzas ii to vii is worked out as follows: The power of music to still passion is mentioned in stanza ii; an illustration is provided to amplify this. The particular emotional power of trumpets and drums is described

in stanza iii; of flute and lute in stanza iv; and violins in stanza v. Stanza vi asks what can excel a human choir and organ.

By mentioning two examples, Dryden gets us thinking in his grand chorus of the general idea stated at the beginning of the Ode—the harmony of the spheres exists indeed, but Dryden would have it exist for even a mightier purpose, which is to sing the Creator's praise. Then at Judgment Day it is some heavenly music, inconceivable by us, which shall accompany the dissolution of the universe. The two examples which make up stanza vii are Orpheus getting the trees to listen to his music and St. Cecilia whose music was listened to by an angel from heaven—more than Orpheus achieved.

Dryden has begun by mentioning the beginning of the universe and ends by describing its end: in both events music will be a symbol of what is enduring. No idea is ever repeated, unless its repetition is the seed from which a new idea grows. As the reader comes upon each successive idea or image, he seems to be watching an organic growth. It is clear that, even in his handling of the separate concepts which make up the ode, Dryden has used artifice to make a clearly discernible pattern.

It will now be possible to consider in detail the sounds out of which the poem is built. The use of pause in the creation of poetic effect will be noticed first. For the sake of brevity, stanzas i and ii only will be dealt with, enough to show the method suggested by an empirical approach to the sounds alone of a poem.

There is a pause after the general statement at the end of line 2. There is a slighter pause at the end of the phrases following this general statement at the end of line 7, and a full pause at the end of this balancing phrase, after line 10. Then comes a repetition of the general statement, followed by a half-pause after line 12; then the final flowering of the general statement into the general example, which concludes the first stage and is followed by a long pause quite naturally.

All these pauses, it is noticed, are suggested by the sense of the words; and the observance of the pauses makes the sense stand out the more clearly. It is noteworthy that the syntax of the sentences encourages the reader to put into his reading no pauses other than those contributory to making the meaning of the poem stand out clearly.

The statement "What Passion cannot MUSICK raise and quell!" in stanza ii is cushioned on either side with a pause when it occurs at the beginning and end of the stanza. The illustration put between the two identical lines contains throughout pauses which are shorter

but nevertheless split up the illustration in such a way that its two unequal-length sentences stand out the more clearly in their meaning, and so their relationship to the general statement is emphasized.

The poet may consciously manipulate his pause effects in a poem, but it seems unlikely, *a priori*, that his conscious manipulation of pitch effects gets much beyond the rhyming schemes he uses. Other more subtle effects are probably more sensibly described as "his feeling for words". We now proceed to Dryden's use of pitch in the words of this poem; again, stanzas i and ii will be dealt with in detail, since this article is intended only to demonstrate a possible method of approach.

In stanza i the rhymes are arranged to enhance the pattern of thought making up the poem. Thus the general statement of lines 1 and 2, and its repetition in lines 11, 12 and 13, sandwich eight lines which, from a sense point of view, enlarge on the general statements—the rhymes are intricate within the eight lines but quite independent of the rest of the stanza. Within these eight lines, obviously a unity so far as the development of the thought of the poem is concerned, the first and last two lines are rhymed and the middle four lines knit by rhymes which maintain the unity of the lines that might otherwise seem to be lost by the half-pause at the end of the lines. The stanza is rounded off by the last two lines rhyming together. The clarion-like phrases which frame the eight lines are distinctive and arresting partly because of the succession and order of the separate vowel sounds. It is most unlikely that the reader would notice just how the intervening eight lines were rhymed; but he will most certainly get an impression of their being closely knit and tightly woven together, a conscious effect engineered by Dryden when he arranged his rhymes as they are. This is all saying that the pitch of his words, where it seems obviously controlled, contributes to the meaning of the poem as valuably as does the use of the time element.

In stanza ii all the nine lines are rhymes with the word "shell", except for two lines (3 and 5) which end with a word of considerable contrast—"sound" and "around". While the pauses separate the first and last lines of the stanza from the central seven lines, the identical rhymes of these central lines combine to produce, in spite of the breaking-up effect of the pauses, an effect of repetition as well as a suspension of forward-moving interest, more characteristic of a melody than of a rational sentence. The effect is more characteristic of music than of poetry.

To appreciate the manipulation by the poet of the "force" element of his words, we must carry out the tedious procedure of

breaking up the lines into groups of sound whose centre of gravity is a stressed syllable. Such groups could be referred to quite properly as feet. Then would follow the general conclusion—that Dryden obtains a nice variety of stress, never dull, yet never too insistent. In these first two stanzas his stresses, though well spaced, are not so important as the pauses (*i.e.* use of time element) in clarifying the ideas, at all levels, that he is expressing.

Proceeding now to the music written for this ode, it can be seen how, in Handel's score, the setting of stanza i amplifies the above analysis of this stanza: only a needless repetition of phrase in the homogeneous group of lines 3-9 obscures the form of the stanza. Nevertheless, the initial two lines are respected by Handel and are given to a tenor to sing as recitative. The particular references get a full orchestral accompaniment, while the style of the tenor soloist is still recitative; the unity of the passage is preserved by its attribution to a tenor voice. Only at the repetition of the general idea of "From Harmony . . ." (line 11) is there an orchestral interlude, which clearly breaks away from the preceding lines. The last five lines are sung to a full chorus. So far has Handel admirably respected Dryden's poetic effects.

Stanza ii is made an air for soprano solo in, as often as not, B minor. Handel's speed indication is *andante*, after a short *adagio* introduction. The nature of the tune does not break up the words, though inevitably the rhymes suffer a little through the repetition twice of most of the phrases (though never, in this stanza, more than twice). The only extended musical treatment of a word or words is done in connection with Dryden's repeated sibilant sounds in line 23—"so sweetly and so well". That Dryden intended this stanza to be a homogeneous whole is suggested by the rhyme schemes: Handel's treatment emphasizes this, and his speed, key, and soft accompaniment of semiquavers seem to me to enhance the mood which in any case Dryden got into his words.

I am not here setting out any comments on the rest of this score, except to make the general remark that an examination of the whole shows how the squarer, less pliable rhythms of music must necessarily obscure those of verse, though not where those poetical rhythms were noticed as being in any way remarkable. Enough has been said to suggest how the literary and musical critic ought to work for their mutual advantage. By this method of attack, empirical as it is, proper credit has been given to every aspect of a work in which a competent poet was served by a competent musician. All too rarely does criticism achieve this.

One single other example must suffice here, this time of a work

in which, after the empirical analysis has been carried through, the poetry quite clearly serves the music. The example is Nicholas Brady's ode "Hail! bright Cecilia, hail! fill ev'ry heart" set by Purcell in 1692. Brady's ode contains many echoes of the 1687 Dryden ode—the amorous flute (Dryden's adjective), the lute, violin and fife. It seems likely that Brady turned to his predecessor when wondering what to supply to the Gentlemen Lovers of Music for 22 November 1692. It is a tribute to the success of Dryden's ode that he did this, especially as Brady was writing words for the leading composer of the day.

Explaining why a particular poem is bad is a dreary business. If this ode is tested for its immediacy of appeal and the enjoyment which a contemplation of its form should give, it must be seen to be deficient. One cannot say that it leaves an impression on the reader of any intense sustained emotion; nor can one say, having noticed how jumbled are its ideas, how ludicrous some of its lines and how inept some of its images, that it has any form at all. As an ode or extended lyric it must be dismissed as a failure. Yet it was set by Purcell for a large combination of instruments: normal strings with continuo; two trumpets and timpani; two oboes; two recorders and a bass recorder. (The bassoon parts shown in a manuscript at Tenbury are thought to be an eighteenth-century addition.)

This ode, considered as a piece of music alone, is highly successful. The musical writing is concentrated and the various moods are beautifully blended. The relationship of the music to its words seems to be irrelevant, but Purcell could hardly have welded the form of his music to a poem in which form seems diffuse to the point of invisibility. Stanza i of the poem, as printed in the 'Gentleman's Journal' for November 1692, is set mainly for chorus, after an orchestral introduction for violins, trumpets and kettledrums (and hautboys in the *Adagio* section); later the full chorus is used less and less, and a duet becomes more prominent. Before the chorus comes in, however, Mr. Woodson is directed to sing the first line as recitative, "Hail! bright Cecilia!" Purcell's respect for the words, or rather his desire to give their meaning as precise a treatment as music can manage with its clumsy rhythmic and pitch devices, leads him to use syncopated devices (to attract attention, perhaps) and an ornate run on "hail"—of all words the one most able to bear it—and to use an emphasis on the different syllables which is a near approximation to actual speech. Throughout this stanza, Purcell's rhythms are interesting; also, his melodies, long and extended, are shapely devices, and he does not hesitate to emphasize the melodic shapes by other musical devices. For instance, in the

duet sung, as shown in the score, by Mr. Turner and Mr. Pate, the climax of the melody is reached with the words

and Musick's Sacred Love
May make the British Forrest prove
As famous as Dodona's Vocall Grove.

Purcell emphasizes the approach of this climax by requiring it to be sung by "all the tenors", "all the basses" and "all the counter-tenors", the basses having a part added for this, in addition to the lines of the duet. The words remain inane, but the mind is so concentrated upon the effective flexibility with which the musical climax is reached that the patent absurdity of the phrase, and of its place in the ode, is for the moment forgotten.

There is no need to continue such detailed analysis. The next step will take us away from poetically and musically contrived events of pauses, notes and sounds at different pitches, and notes and sounds of different degrees of loudness. Indeed if we travel several steps away from them, while they as separate events are still clear in our mind, it will be possible to see whether poet and musician, separately, in their two distinct spheres as arrangers of words and arrangers of notes, have put their sounds into a pattern which we can detect. Can we honestly say that Dryden's pause, frequency and loudness variations result in a pattern of which we approve? Can we honestly say that Handel's pause, frequency and loudness variations, laid out so painfully on the dissecting table, result in a pattern of which we approve?

In the next step forward the two, music and poetry, must be considered in relationship to each other. Is our perception of the form of Dryden's poem strengthened or weakened by our perception of the form of Handel's music? Even more important, does the form of Handel's music strengthen or weaken our perception of the form of Dryden's poem?

And finally, we can ask the question which transcends considerations of technical detail and puts our queries on to the level of critical assessment. Does the poetic and musicianly handling of form, separately and in relationship to each other, make clear the meaning of the poem? Or perhaps an alternative question would be more relevant in this final critical assessment: does the meaning of the poem detract from or add to our clear perception of the musicianly and poetic handling of form, separately and in relationship to each other?

The answers to these questions are not very important in this article. What is much more important is that the questions asked should be apprehended and the line of argument understood which

leads to their being asked in this particular way. This, I believe, is the enlightened and possible approach for the hybrid critic in the present state of our knowledge.

As a matter of interest, the hybrid critic's answers to these questions, applied to the two works mentioned above, may be briefly suggested. In the Dryden ode, as set by Handel, analysis shows that the music happily serves the poetry, whose ultimate test of articulation is made the more certain of success by the formal and emotional elements contributed by the composer. The form used by the poet himself contributes to a degree almost of perfection, and to this end the form of Handel's music also contributes considerably, though to a less perfect degree; but the extent to which the poetic form of the ode is weakened by the form of the music is offset by the added pungency and force of the poetic effects (which, after all, add up to its form) when strengthened by the purely musical ones. This factor makes a public performance of the ode more successful with the music than without it. In short, the music has slightly coarsened the ode but thereby made it accessible to a wider audience than it could command merely as a spoken poem.

A very different answer will be given by the critic when the same two questions are asked about the Nicholas Brady ode, as set by Purcell. The articulate "meaning" of the ode cannot command our respect, but the form of Purcell's music can. Nevertheless, the "meaning" of the poem does not detract from the dignified form of Purcell's music. The amorphous, vague poetic form of the ode is no more than the fragment around which Purcell formed his pearl, but none the less necessary for that. Purcell's music honours where it can this unsuccessful ode, but at no point deviates sharply from its form, wherever it can be apprehended. In short, as music, this ode is highly concentrated, highly organized and admirably balanced. No pleasure could ever have been got from a recitation of Brady's words.

The hybrid critic must always be on the alert in making his assessments of the relative importance, in the reality of performance, of words and music, whatever the poet and musician may have asserted or tried to do. It is the flexibility of mind which the hybrid critic must bring to his task that is new—new at any rate since two and a half centuries ago. It is the flexibility of mind that is so hard to achieve when nourished almost exclusively on the fairly clear current thoughts of literary critics or, on the other hand, the current attitudes of musicians who, brought up on a diet too rich in matters connected with the details of performance, have too often overlooked the real nature of artistic works made of a physical and chemical combination of words and music.

There has indeed been some awareness, since about the time the B.B.C. started broadcasting seriously, of new attitudes towards poetry performed with music. W. J. Turner, a poet as well as a music critic, writing in 'The New Statesman and Nation' on 28 January 1939, asserted quite roundly that the public concert platform had made the art of singing an inarticulate art. If that is so, then singers and listeners must be shown how best to combine an arrangement of words with one of notes; how much one can expect from such an arrangement; and finally, which composers and poets must be found guilty of not understanding the elements of their two arts acting in consort. Work, in short, for the enlightened hybrid critic.

Earlier, in 1926, Peter Warlock (in his book 'The English Ayre') was lamenting those lost days of Elizabeth I when sung music was to be performed round a table rather than projected to a large audience, and when in consequence the musician could respect the subtlety of poetic effect and the poet not decry the crudity of musical effect; and when they could unite in an atmosphere of mutual respect. Latterly, I think, there are grounds for supposing that musical and literary men are regaining that mutual respect: perhaps Peter Warlock would have been well equipped to be that hybrid critic whose task should be to educate the listening public in the niceties of an art which must combine two arts, though each is in its own right sovereign over a large part of human spiritual experience. When, a year before, Edith Sitwell wrote in 'Poetry and Criticism' that twentieth-century cacophony had rendered us impervious to many of the subtleties of poetic effect, was she writing in the darkness before a dawn? At any rate, if twentieth-century cacophony is worse a quarter of a century after she wrote that remark, I think we are ready, in our theatres and concert-halls, above all in our radio programmes, to search for subtleties of poetic effect not dreamed of for over two centuries—which means a new awareness of the finesse of sound and a tendency to discount the merely blatant. In other words, the ground is prepared for the seed which our poets and composers must scatter on it—as indeed the recent phenomenal opera crop alone suggests they are ready to do. In all this activity the hybrid critic must be continually alert, playing off the literary against the musical world and making sure that the basic attitudes and sanctions of each are understood and held in sympathetic esteem, by creators, performers and listeners.

THE LEARNED DOCTOR BUSBY

By K. G. F. SPENCE

THOMAS BUSBY, writer, composer and organist, was born at Westminster in December 1755. He was the son of a Southwark coach painter; "nor were his father's connections, or local situation, calculated to awaken in his juvenile mind the idea of higher attainments". Nevertheless, he made the most of what he had; as a child he displayed such "eccentricity, and novelty of thought, as to obtain among the neighbours the appellation of a *remarkably odd boy*". Thomas had a fine voice, which he improved by listening to such prominent singers as Vernon, Lowe and Beard; he applied for the Westminster Abbey choir, but was considered too old, being twelve or thirteen. He took a few singing-lessons from Samuel Champness and learnt the harpsichord under Charles Knyvett. In the summer of 1769 he sang at Vauxhall Gardens for 10 guineas a week (Vauxhall being "at that time much more distinguished for the respectability of its singers than at present"—*i.e.* 1803). Shortly afterwards his voice broke, and he was articled to Jonathan Battishill for five years as a resident pupil.

Busby seems to have found Battishill a negligent teacher, though he learnt enough in the first two years to write a fair number of works, one of which, a ballad called 'The Nymph of the Hill', was published. In his spare time he availed himself of his master's "extensive and well-chosen library"; "all the time not occupied by his professional avocation, was devoted to the perusal of the best English authors".

After five years spent in this exemplary manner, Busby returned home. His first full-scale effort was a "musical afterpiece" to a work by a Dr. Kenrick entitled 'The Man the Master', which was unsuccessful. Next, "not deterred by Mr. Battishill's repeated declaration, that no man ought to attempt an oratorio after Mr. Handel", Busby set to work on a setting of Pope's 'Messiah'—a "sublime composition" which had to wait twenty years for its first performance. He published some harpsichord sonatas and, as a signal example of that "self-acquired excellence" for which he was later noted, taught himself Latin. But industry of this nature had its disadvantages. "A habit of life so sedentary and abstracted . . . could not produce many opportunities of encreasing his connections, and promoting that pecuniary advantage which forms the direct object of men of the world". So Busby turned his pen to profitable use as parliamentary reporter of the 'London Courant', assistant

editor of the 'Morning Post', music critic for the 'European Magazine' and the 'Analytical Review', and contributor to the 'Attic Miscellany' and 'Whitehall Evening Post'. It is perhaps worth quoting an 'Analytical Review' criticism (June 1788, p. 212), which, though anonymous, is in true Busbeian style. It is of 'Colin and Lucy, an English Ballad, written by Mr. Tickell, and set to music by Signior Giordani', and ends:

with this mixture of praise & blame we are therefore obliged to speak of the effort before us, though not without a due sense of Signior Giordani's merits, & of the difficulty of the task he imposed upon himself in attempting to set this beautiful and simple little poem; to do justice to which only an equal simplicity of melody, and a taste perfectly English, could at all be adequate.

Busby's most important literary production at this time was a poem "in the style of Churchill, one of his favourite authors", entitled 'The Age of Genius! A Satire on the Times in a Poetical Epistle to a Friend' (London, 1786). This work (which was admired by Sir Joshua Reynolds) consists of over 800 lines in heroic couplets; it satirizes an age in which the smallest talent fancies himself a genius. Genius is rare enough in the world:

Most minds, by Nature *bound to such a line*,
Only within *that sphere* can ever shine:
Nay, even *there*, peep out in rays *so small*,
We cannot, *fairly*, say they shine at all. (277-80.)

Occasionally the case is even more hopeless:

Some are to barbarism so *strong* inclined
By *nature*, they can *never* be refined. (379-80.)

The moral is simple enough:

Yes—tell each coxcomb—tell him to his face,
The fool's *best knowledge* is to *know his place!* (811-12.)

The 'Age of Genius' is by no means bad of its kind and shows Busby to have been at least a competent versifier; he was doubtless sure of his own place. The Preface says modestly:

If the Poem posses merit, that merit will be it's *own index* with *real* judges, and survive all the attacks of false criticism: if on the contrary, it should be found destitute, instead of transmitting it's author's name to *posterity*, it will as certainly sink into oblivion.

At about this time (1786) Busby became organist of St. Mary, Newington, in Surrey. With regular employment, and a "taste for mental accomplishment recommended by polished exterior", he decided to marry. His choice fell on Miss Angier of Earl's Court, who had "an attractive person, a superior understanding, much general information, and a natural elegance of manner"; they were married at Kensington in June 1786 and had seven children,

of whom five were surviving in 1803. After his marriage Busby moved to Poland Street, where he took music pupils and taught himself French and Italian. He went on trying to bring his oratorio (called 'Prophecy', not 'Messiah', perhaps in deference to Handel) before the public, as well as "several other works of magnitude", but had no success; an 'Ode to Peace' composed at the end of the American war was never performed. Busby took refuge from these disappointments in learning, taking up the sciences of "mathematics, mechanics, perspective, optics, pneumatics, and the philosophy of sound".

In 1786 there also appeared a Musical Dictionary, "containing not only an explanation of musical terms, but a biographical account of the great musicians, accompanied with a certain portion of music previously known to the public". Busby took the literary side of this work, Samuel Arnold the musical. It ran to nearly 200 numbers, and its success encouraged Busby in the production of his next work, 'The Divine Harmonist, or Sunday Associate, Containing Elegant Extracts, and Original Compositions, of Sacred Music. From the most distinguished Masters, Antient and Modern'. This appeared in 1788 and consisted of twelve serial numbers; it included works by Handel, Battishill, Purcell, Boyce, Arne and Blow, and such minor figures as Wise, King, Weldon, Stevens, Travers, and a good deal by Busby himself. Busby was "always a friend to charitable institutions of every description", and 'The Divine Harmonist' contains a good example of the sort of work he wrote for such bodies as the Surrey Dispensary, the Humane Society, the Philanthropic Society and the Literary Fund (of which he became a governor in 1800). This is a 'Trio Sung at the Anniversary of the Philanthropic Society April 15th 1793', whose unctuous words, by Edward Coxe, run:

1. To snatch deserted youth from guilt and woe,
Pity the sacred charge to you hath giv'n;
Your guardian care protects them here below,
Relieves each want, and points the way to heav'n.
2. Then while their thanks like grateful incense rise,
Let our glad strains with theirs united be;
Angels themselves th' ascending notes shall prize,
And hail with joy Divine Philanthropy.

The collection contains several airs from a manuscript oratorio, 'Creation', from which "it is manifest that he [Busby] had anticipated Haydn in the choice of that subject and title". In 1803 we learn that Busby "intends to bring this composition forward in the course of next winter" (presumably winter 1803-4), and the writer

looks forward to "the opportunity of comparing the talents of two great masters exercised on the same subject". Unfortunately Busby's 'Creation' remained unperformed; perhaps the composer was attacked by

. . . searching Diffidence, (still free to rack
The breast of Genius; to inflict those *pains*,
Reserv'd, alas! for all who're curst with brains;
Those *poignant* wounds which *scrup'lous merit feels*,
Which scarce the world's *just commendation* heals) . . .

(*'Age of Genius'*, 652-53.)

A comparison of the two "Creations" might, considering the taste of the age, have been favourable to Busby.

'The Divine Harmonist' was highly successful, and Busby embarked on another work: 'Melodia Britannica, or The Beauties of British Song'. This was a failure, as "the fluctuating taste of the public in musical matters is not calculated to encourage attempts to give permanency to the productions of past times, however excellent". Busby was discouraged and devoted his time to study and teaching. He moved to Battersea, where

he kept a skiff, in which, as often as the tide served, he sailed or rowed himself to town; and it is worthy remark, that in these little aquatic journeys, he meditated the plan of an heroic poem on the subject of Lord Elliott's gallant defence of Gibraltar; and actually produced in the boat, at various times, some hundreds of lines, which he always committed to paper as soon as he landed".

Apart from this abortive epic, he was meditating his translation of Lucretius (published 1813), as well as that of Gregory's 'Astronomiae Physicae' and 'Geometriae Elementa'.

In 1798 Busby became organist of St. Mary Woolnoth: "in the spring of 1798, a sermon being to be preached at the church of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard-street, for a contribution in support of the war, a performer of superior merit was required for the occasion, and Dr. Busby was recommended". The regular organist providentially died that night, Busby became a candidate for the post, and "by 10 o'clock the next morning . . . he had the promise of support from three-fourths of the inhabitants".

The next year, after two decades of effort, Busby had his oratorio performed for the first time. He himself tells us with typical self-satisfaction:

Dr. Busby's Oratorio of *The Prophecy* was composed at the early age of twenty; but he found it easier to produce, than to ensure the performance of that sublime composition. The engaging a theatre, a corps of first-rate performers, principal and choral, and an able and numerous band, appeared a bold and awful undertaking for so young a practitioner.

Busby applied to Wilhelm Cramer for assistance; Cramer was willing, but, when Busby went to his house to thank him, he was told that Cramer had been arrested for debt that morning. Busby rushed to his side; "Mr. Cramer!" he cried, "great men, it seems, are as exposed to misfortunes as the meanest; but your present inconvenience, at least, I come to remove." He paid over the required sum; Cramer was released, gave Busby a promissory note for the money and produced the oratorio, which

was received, by an elegantly crowded house, with the strongest demonstrations of satisfaction and pleasure. . . . The applause commenced with a burst at the opening of the fugue in the overture, and was repeated at the close of every air and chorus. Indeed, the audience were astonished at the originality, boldness, and sublimity of the music.

Busby was naturally delighted; the morning after the performance "the young composer" (now aged forty-three, gratefully returned the promissory note to Cramer, receipted.

'The Prophecy', according to its composer, marked a revival of oratorio in England. In his Dictionary, after praising the oratorios of Handel, and those of Smith, Stanley, Arne, Worgan and Arnold in the article on Oratorio, he writes:

So inadequately were they encouraged, that from about the year 1771 no new work of the kind appeared . . . till the spring of 1799, when the *Prophecy* was performed, for the first time, at the Theatre-Royal, Haymarket.

Fétis says coldly of this work: "Busby n'était pas assez instruit pour écrire un ouvrage de ce genre"; but Busby's contemporaries thought differently:

Dr. B.'s style as a composer is a happy mixture of the old and the new school. In his oratorial productions, we find the learning and solemn grandeur of the former constantly relieved by the elegance and sweetness of the latter.

In the summer of 1799 Busby negotiated with Harris, the proprietor of Covent Garden, "for the hire of that house for a term of years for the performance of oratorios during the Lent seasons". But the negotiations fell through.

The success of 'The Prophecy' encouraged Busby to begin a number of other choral works: settings of Gray's 'Progress of Poesy', Pope's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day', and 'Comala', a cantata from Ossian. The ode, he says in the article on that subject in his Dictionary, "forms an exalted species of song, and seems to rank between the sublime solemnity of the oratorio and the florid delicacy of the serious opera". None of his attempts in this form was completed.

Busby next tried his hand at the "florid delicacy" of opera. On 16 January 1800 Cumberland's version of Kotzebue's 'Joanna' was produced at Covent Garden. This was "a Romance of the 14th Century—in 5 acts—interspersed with Songs and Choruses" written by Busby. It was "one of the best of those irregular Dramas which have been so frequent on the stage of late years—but this species of writing was unworthy of Cumberland". The play was "got up at an immense expence . . . but a report unfortunately got abroad that it was intended to rival *Pizarro* it was therefore viewed with a comparing eye". All the credit was Busby's, for "through the influence of the music the piece maintained itself on the boards for 16 nights", and Cumberland wrote in his Preface: "What, in future, may not the public expect of such a genius!"

Public expectation was satisfied the following year by another oratorio. In 1801 Busby proposed to the "Committee for conducting the plan for erecting by public contribution a *Naval Pillar* in honour of our brave Admirals and Seamen, to produce a secular oratorio under the title of *Britannia*"; proceeds were to go to the fund. It was finally decided, in view of the king's love of Handel's music, to perform selections from Handel and from 'Britannia'. The king did not come after all. The concert was "received with enthusiastic applause"; the oratorio was later given in full for the benefit of the Royal Humane Society, with Mara as soloist, and was received this time with "universal admiration".

The year 1801 was a busy one in other ways: in June Busby took his doctorate at Cambridge. His exercise was a 'Thanksgiving Ode on Naval Victories'. This work had been performed previously, at the Haymarket, on 14 May, together with a repeat of 'The Prophecy' and a new Coronation Anthem. It was a tremendous social occasion, Mrs. Crespigny having written the words for the 'Thanksgiving Ode'. "Through her personal influence the house exhibited a splendour almost unknown in the annals of the theatre. The ladies evidently made a point of doing honour to Mrs. C. and the composer; and the boxes absolutely blazed with jewellery". The same year Busby was present at a more melancholy occasion—the funeral of his old master Battishill, at which he was one of the chief mourners. In the summer he was elected a member of the Society of Musical Graduates, and "Dr. B. has been heard to express much gratification in holding a seat among that scientific and respectable body".

Meanwhile Busby's literary activity continued. In the winter of 1801-2 appeared the 'New and Complete Musical Dictionary', and soon after 'The Monthly Musical Journal',

by which the public was to be regularly supplied with the best new foreign music, Italian, German, and French, interspersed with original compositions by himself [Busby], Dr. Arnold, Dr. Callcott, and other eminent composers.

Unfortunately, communication with the Continent was interrupted by the war, and the *Journal* was discontinued after only four numbers.

Busby's next venture was the music for a melodrama—Holcroft's 'Tale of Mystery'. Genest writes of it:

This is a very interesting piece, in 2 acts, by Holcroft—professedly borrowed from the French—it was the first of those Melo-drames, with which the stage was afterwards inundated—tho' this mixture of dialogue and dumb show, accompanied by music, be an unjustifiable species of the drama, yet it must be acknowledged, that some of the Melo-drames have considerable merit—the *Tale of Mystery* was the first and best.

Busby himself calls the melodrama

a modern species of Drama, in which the powers of instrumental music are employed to elucidate the action, and heighten the passion of the piece. The first essay in this kind of composition was successfully made in Paris soon after the late revolution; and subsequently in London, in a piece called *A TALE OF MYSTERY*.

This melodrama was produced at Covent Garden on 13 November 1802; there followed the music for Miss Porter's "musical entertainment" 'The Fair Fugitives' (Covent Garden, 16 May 1803). Busby's last work was the music for "a good Melo-drama by Lewis", entitled 'Rugantino, or The Bravo of Venice, A New Grand Romantic Melo Drama'. It was performed, according to the title-page, "with Unbounded Applause at the Theatre Royal Covent Garden" in October 1805. 'Rugantino' has a plot of the usual fatuity, with assassinations, a double disguise—Rugantino is both his own rival for the Princess's hand and the Prince of Milan to whom she is promised by her father—and a happy ending. The pleasures of the eye are catered for by a masque in which Mars, Bacchus, Pan, Diana with her nymphs and Venus appear; Jupiter and Juno descend in a palace of clouds and Pluto and Proserpine ascend from the infernal regions; Juno, Minerva and Venus contend for the golden apple, and finally the Princess herself advances "seated in a brilliant conch or shell". It is to be hoped that the dancers were not those described by Busby as "our male animated tea-pots, advancing regularly and invariably with one fist sticking in their side for a handle, and their other arm extended to form the spout: and . . . their equally elegant partners, rolling about like milkmaids lately divested of their pails".

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Busby did not write any ballad operas. "The English *opera*", he wrote, "has long provided an attractive vehicle of humour and sentiment"; but he preferred the Italian opera, which "has maintained itself as an elegant and fascinating species of entertainment to all the lovers of fine dancing and exquisite music".

After 'Rugantino' Busby devoted himself to literature. Most of his productions are on music; but his first publication was the translation of Lucretius, on which he had been working a good many years. This came out in 1813. There is an imposing list of subscribers, headed by the Prince Regent ("To Him, who, combining with a munificent regard for Literature and the Arts, a Spirit truly British, . . .") and including the Duke of Wellington, Byron, Coleridge, William Hayley, Martin Tupper, Benjamin West (P.R.A.), Burney and Crotch. The translator of Lucretius needs, says Busby in his Preface,

a Muse emulative of the simplest attire and easiest gesture, combined with a confident and noble air; a Muse whose numbers are at once smooth and strong; whose diction is as bold as obvious, and whose style is alternately sweet, rich, and lofty.

Whatever Busby's Muse was like, no one could accuse him of want of enthusiasm: "I cannot read it ['De Rerum Natura'] without transport; it kindles the glow of partial zeal, inspires me with the author's unyielding self-opinion, and compels me to insist upon its superiority over every other poem in the Roman language".

The translation is in heroic couplets; Busby preferred rhyme to blank verse for a variety of reasons. "I was distrustful of the unlimited freedom offered by blank verse", he says, ". . . it affords too much facility for the introduction of extraneous matter." The couplet, on the other hand, has "delicacy" and "energetic compression"; besides "the advantage of occasionally departing from its [the couplet's] uniformity; the powerful climax natural to the triplet, and the majestic pomp—the long resounding march, and energy divine"—of the Alexandrine".

Busby's translation was meant to supersede that of Creech (1682), whose version was "incorrect and inharmonious". It is perhaps worth comparing the two in the same passage (D.R.N. i. 1102-10):

Creech: Lest *Heaven* dissolv'd, like swiftest flames, should flie
Thro' the vast Space, the fabrick of the Sky
Confus'dly falling lower buildings meet,
The faithless *Earth* forsake our trembling feet,
And all the things in Heaven and Earth destroy'd,
Confus'dly scatter thro' the mighty *Void*:

And in one moment every Thing deface
But *unseen Atoms*, and vast *Empty Space*.

Busby: . . . lest the world's walls on high
Athwart the unbounded void dissolved should fly;
Like swiftest flame through spacious Aether spring,
And to one instant ruin all things bring:
Lest from their spheres the thundering orbs be hurled,
And from our trembling feet this nether world,
Through heaven, through earth, confusion mingling spread,
Destroyed all matter, and all creatures dead;
Nought in a moment left of Nature's face,
Changed all to senseless seeds and desert space.

Busby obviously leant heavily on Creech; nevertheless his version has more of the qualities he recommended in poetry: "melody, force, magnificence, and all the great qualities of superior versification".

Busby's musical writings (apart from the Dictionary already mentioned) were a 'Grammar of Music' (1818), a 'History of Music' (1819), compiled from Burney and Hawkins, 'Concert Room and Orchestral Anecdotes' (1825) and a 'Musical Manual' (1828). (His only other non-musical book was an attempt to prove that the Letters of Junius were written by J. L. de Lolme [1816].¹ For the present purpose the Dictionary and 'Concert Room' provide sufficient material.

Busby's working life covered a period when English music was at a low ebb; but there was no want of musical activity, from the throne downwards. George III was interested in music. He showed "a strong predilection for its innocent and intellectual gratification" and wrote one of the melodies—"In love, should we meet a fond pair"—in the ballad opera 'Love in a Village'. There were catch clubs for wealthy amateurs, concert-rooms such as that of J. C. Bach and Abel in Hanover Square (opened c. 1770), decorated with "transparent figures, painted by Cipriani, representing Apollo and the Muses"; the Ancient Music concerts and concerts given by such men as Salomon and Cramer; Lee's "rational and refined entertainment" (1775), held at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, with recitations from Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope and Collins, and music by Baidon and Battishill; concerts in the summer at Ranelagh and Vauxhall, which catered for different tastes—of two well-known singers Busby wrote: "Beard attracted the genteeler part of the musical world to Ranelagh; while Lowe drew the other

¹ Member of the Geneva Council of 200, author of various constitutional works, born c. 1745. "Ingenious, subtle, secret, and inveterate, he inscribed with a poisoned pen; his ink was venom, and his venom was fatal" (Busby, *op. cit.*, p. 9).

portion to Vauxhall"; and other gardens such as "Finch's Grotto" in Southwark (opened c. 1770).

To Busby at least everything was for the best in the best of all musical worlds. Melody and harmony could not be improved:

this art of *melodizing* . . . seems in the present age to have reached its acme . . . at length . . . writers arose, to whose patience, talents, and learning, the present age is indebted for a complete system of harmony and modulation, and to whose labours we only have to resort, to be informed on every point requisite both to its theory and practice.

Busby was as certain as Hawkins that

the system itself, as it is founded in nature, will admit of no variation; consonance and dissonance are the subjects of immutable laws, which when investigated become a rule for all succeeding improvements.²

To compose is "to invent new music according to the received laws of harmony and modulation".

"Simplicity" was Busby's desideratum in music:

in composition, a natural, unadorned melody, or incomplex combination of parts, in which the composer endeavours, rather by the force of his genius and feeling than the refinements of science, to awaken the softer passions, or rouse the mind to ardour. In performance, *simplicity* is that chaste, unaffected style, which, rejecting all vain and unmeaning flourish, only aims at conveying the ideas of the composer, without disturbing the purity of the text.

Busby had little sympathy with Palestrina, whose compositions

were founded on counterpoint, and loaded with harmony; were solid, were heavy, and as estranged from that music which depends for its effect on the beautiful simplicity of its current, unaccompanied transitions, as the language of the Malays from that of the ancient Irish.

However, Tallis's 40-part motet appealed to him:

this stupendous, though perhaps Gothic, specimen of human labour and intellect is carried on in an alternate flight, pursuit, attack, and choral union, to the end; when this polyphonic phenomenon is terminated by twelve bars of universal chorus in quadragintesimal harmony.

The ancient Greeks were in a happy position, for, though their music was "limited" and "included little, if any, of what we deem elegance and taste", yet it was as "simple and undebauched" as their minds.

Music has to produce a good effect; for this, "real genius, profound science, and a cultivated judgement" are needed. Composers fail to achieve this through "being more solicitous to load

² Hawkins, *History* (1776), V, p. 426.

their scores with numerous parts and powerful combinations, than to produce originality, purity, and sweetness of melody". The effect may be ruined not only by too many parts, but by too much decoration. Thus, a flourish is liable to destroy "the beauty of a studied simplicity"; a capriccio is

a loose, irregular, species of composition, in which the composer, without any other restraint than the boundary of his imagination, continually digresses from his subject, and runs wild amid the fervour of his fancy;

the extravaganza is characterized by "wildness of idea and incoherence of construction". Vivaldi comes in for attack:

His solos are extremely tame and vapid, yet the characteristic of his concertos is a singular wildness or irregularity, in which he oftentimes transgresses the bounds both of melody and modulation;

Dussek's compositions, though "highly wrought, and, in many instances, truly brilliant and florid, were, in general, of a crude and extravagant character".

Busby admired a variety of composers—Handel, Arne, Méhul, Mozart, Grétry, Martini; Jommelli was "one of the greatest composers of his time", while "to justly describe him would be to enumerate the different excellences of almost every other master". Purcell has the highest praise. "The genius of Purcell, expansive as splendid, embraced, with equal felicity, every species of composition"; in sacred music he "struggled triumphantly" with Palestrina for pre-eminence;

contemplating the variety and extent, versatility and magnitude of his talents, we see the uncircumscribed range and imperial power of a Shakesperian mind; as far as performance can be compared with production, we behold a Garrick, placed between Melpomene and Thalia, courted by each, and smiling upon both.

Busby had a hearty dislike of French music. He writes of an eighteenth-century literary quarrel between the Abbé Ragueneau and Jean-Laurent Freneuse. The latter, "extraordinary as it may seem . . . was so enamoured with the quaint, dry, and affected music of his own country, as to prefer it to the sweet, liquid, and natural melody of Italy". The Abbé took the opposite view, and his opinion "accorded with that of all men of real taste". Busby uses stronger language on the subject of French opera: "it must be no small annoyance to such excellent musicians, to be often compelled, in compliance with the singular taste of the French nation, to perform such music as they cannot but hold in sovereign contempt". However, the French start at a disadvantage: the slowness of their melody is due to the letter *e* at the end of a word receiving "a note in music expressly for itself". But there is still some hope, as "in

the nineteenth [century] something resembling style has found its way even into French vociferation".

The "natural melody of Italy" was all very well if Italian composers produced it. But Busby attacked Arne for inserting Italian passages in his opera 'Artaxerxes' (produced 1762):

It is a curious fact, that the father of a style, more natural and unaffected, more truly English, than that of any other composer, should have been the first to deviate into foreign finery and finesse, and desert the native simplicity of his country.

Churchill's Rosciad is quoted with approval:

But never shall a truly British age
Bear a vile race of eunuchs on the stage:
The boasted work's called national in vain,
If one Italian voice pollute the strain.

Busby's opinion was by no means universal; we read in another writer (in 'Public Characters'):

That most happy and judicious combination of the Italian and English schools, the serious opera of 'Artaxerxes'; in which Dr. Arne has consolidated the beautiful melody of Hasse, the mellifluous richness of Pergolese [*sic*], the easy flow of Picini [*sic*] and the finished *cantabile* of Sacchini, with his own pure and native simplicity.

One cannot help feeling that little native simplicity would have been left after such a "consolidation".

Busby has much to say on imitative music:

that music which is composed in imitation of the effects of some of the operations of nature, art, or human passion; as the rolling of thunder, swiftness of lightning, agitation of the sea, gurgling of streams, roaring of beasts, warbling of birds, clashing of swords, explosion of cannon; and the tones of sorrow, love, jealousy, hatred, revenge, gaiety, joy, exultation, or triumph. Music, when thus employed, exerts some of its sublimest energies; transports us to the very scenes it describes, or kindles the feeling whose expressions it copies.

Such were the 'Bataglia' of Signor Raimondi and the 'Battle Sinfonia' of Beethoven, "both of which pieces have been often performed and justly applauded, not only for the intelligence and ingenuity with which military sensations were excited . . . but because they were elegant and agreeable compositions". However, in later years Busby modified his views. "Even if music be an imitative art, imitation is among the humblest of its pretensions:—its true character consists in its power to charm the imagination, move the passions, and awaken sentiment". He attacks Geminiani, who, about 1756, decided to write a piece representing Book xiii of Tasso's 'Jerusalem': "So that more than 60 years ago, the folly commenced of attempting to narrate and instruct, describe and

inform, by the ambiguous medium of instrumental sounds!"

Busby lived on for ten years after his final publication, the 'Musical Manual' of 1828. He died at his daughter's house in Pentonville, on Monday 28 May 1838, aged eighty-two. The writer of an obituary in 'The Musical World' of 31 May called him "This clever and eccentric gentleman", and ended somewhat condescendingly "The doctor entertained loose notions on religious subjects, but these were themes on which his information was very contracted". This seems hard on a man who had written:

No reason arises why the poem of Lucretius should not be read by *us* who are enlightened by the precepts of a holy religion; who are armed against his sophistry by arguments derived from inspiration, and covered with the impenetrable shield of the Christian faith.

However, the obituarist was no doubt out of sympathy with an eighteenth-century man, of whom it was said in 1803:

He is a tenacious friend to freedom of opinion on all subjects, both literary and scientific; and never thinks so humbly of men as when their sentiments are biassed by a name, or founded on any other authority than that of reason.

There are [wrote Busby] three kinds of Musicians: the *speculative Musician*, or musical *author*, properly so called, who contemplates and writes on the laws of sound and harmony; the *practical theorist* or composer, who produces music written agreeable to those laws; and the *performer*, who, with his voice or instrument, executes the music when written. Distinct as are these provinces, they are sometimes all embraced by the same individual, and with a success which evinces the affinity between speculative knowledge, practical invention, and vocal or manual execution.

Busby himself embraced all these fields; though not a genius in any of them, he was eminent in his way and typical of his age, and is worth considering for that. He was one of the last of the musicians who, no matter what their quality, were sublimely confident of the superiority of the music of their age over that of any other. This confidence may seem ludicrous to-day, but it was perhaps healthier than the worship of the great dead which was destined to succeed it.

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THE USE OF MUSIC IN THE PLAYS OF MARSTON

By R. W. INGRAM

MARSTON's inventive and original use of music has never been recognized. The Children of St. Paul's and the Blackfriars, the two companies for whom he wrote his plays, were primarily choir-boys, and dramatists had to allow them scope to display their musical talents. The music in these plays is generally regarded as a necessary evil—"the action was often interrupted by a song no more significant to the character of his circumstances than the irrelevancies of modern musical comedy". It is too easy to dismiss music as extraneous, particularly in these plays in which it had to be used. The playwright must be judged on his use of material: the quality of an artist is shown in the way he rules his material where the lesser man is ruled by it. It is the mark of Marston's worth that he often transcends virtuosity and rises to artistic heights in his use of music. While his plays are not great drama—they are always superb theatre—they are extremely interesting as examples of the effective union of words, action and music. Of no play is this more true than of 'Sophonisba'.

The musical directions for 'Sophonisba' are unusually full, so much so that Marston is obliged to note: "Let me intreat my reader not to taxe me for the fashion of the Entrances and Musique of this tragedy, for know it is printed onely as it was presented by the youths, & after the fashion of the private stage." The dramatic uses to which he puts music are of the same kind here as in his other plays, but in this note he is rather disclaiming responsibility for the choice of instruments and voices. It draws attention, as it were, to the partnership of writer and producer, seen at work from the beginning of the play. After a short scene where Syphax joins the Romans against Carthage, the scene shifts to Carthage and Sophonisba's awaiting Massinissa on her wedding night. To set the hymeneal tone Marston has a little masquing and singing, the point of which will only be seen later. The direction reads: "enter foure boyes antiquely attired with bows and quivers dancing to the Cornets, a phantastique measure", after which Massinissa and his attendants enter with "Chorus with Cornets, Organ, and voices: Io to Hymen." A dramatic point follows when Cartholon bursts

in "his sword drawne, his body wounded, his shield stricke [sic] full of darts." The directions for the musical lay-out of this scene are what Marston disclaims, but the effect is carefully planned by him, an effect which is heightened when Massinissa forgoes the marriage bed and marches to war, and by a real fight which contrasts with the dainty mock-fighting of the boys. The sympathetic union of writer and producer is evident throughout the play, as in the interact music of "cornets and organs playing loud full musicke" for the transition to the battle of the second act, which is shot through with battle calls on cornets. The third act concentrates on Syphax's attempts to seduce Sophonisba, aided by false rumours of Massinissa's death. "Organ mixt with Recorders" introduce the scene in the temple with which the act opens, emphasizing Sophonisba's steadfastness as well as providing contrast to Syphax's lustful speeches.

The musical crux of the play is the fourth act, where this type of drama approaches most nearly to opera. The action is a mixture of theatrical effectiveness and dramatic impropriety; it concerns the infernal business between Syphax and the demon Erictho. Such scenes are difficult to take seriously to-day; even in 'Macbeth' the witches too easily tend to become the comic figures Verdi unabashedly made them. It is very necessary to remember the hold beliefs in witchcraft had on Elizabethans. Witches were never amusing to them, even in such figures as 'The Witch of Edmonton'. James I was in sympathy with his people when he wrote upon the urgent problems of witchcraft. In 'Sophonisba' this episode, nonetheless, still jars, but to a far greater extent in reading than in the theatre and far less than it would without the play's exotic and musical atmosphere.

The interact music is "Organs, Violls and Voices", the first time viols have been used; possibly this is a clue for the instruments used for the "infernall musique" which is heard soon after. The first direction is "infernall musique plays softly, whilst Erictho enters and when she speaks ceaseth"; thus some twenty-four lines of Syphax's speech are quietly accompanied. Erictho, when she speaks, promises to conjure up spirits by music:

Then when I shall force
The ayre to musicke, and the shads of night
To forme sweete sounds: make proud thy rais'd delight.
Meane time behold I goe, a charm to reare
Whose potent sound will force our selfe to feare.

Again "infernall musique softly" is heard, Marston contenting himself with vague descriptions of it and leaving the producer to arrange the actual music.

Harke, harke, now rise infernall tones
 The depe fetch'd grones
 Of laboring spirits that attend Erictho . . .
 Now cracke the trembling earth and send
 Shreekes that portend
 Affrightment to the Gods which heare.

The quiet but fearful music now changes; "a treble Violl and base
 Lute play softly within the Canopy". Syphax marks the change:

Harke, harke, now softer melody strikes mute
 Disquiet nature: O thou power of sound
 How thou doest melt me. Harke, now even heaven
 Gives up his soule amongst us . . .
 Harke: she coms.

(stage direction: "A short song to soft Musique
 above")

Now nuptiall hymes inforced Spirits sing.

The singing swells louder, Erictho in the guise of Sophonisba enters
 and Syphax cries ecstatically:

Now Hell and Heaven ringes
 With musique spight of Phoebus: Peace.

This insistence on the weirdness of the music for this evil love throws
 the hearer's mind back to the true love music heard at the beginning
 of the play.

This new ingratiating love music has lulled Syphax, who by
 music's sounds has been moved from fearful awe to confident
 romantic ardour. The tension is maintained into the next scene
 by a subtle use of interact music. It is scored for treble viol and
 bass viol, instruments already associated with love-making by
 Syphax when they announced Erictho in her disguise as Sophonisba.
 Possibly the music had continued softly during the last speeches
 of the act before the pair retired to the shrouded bed. The opening
 of the fifth act brings the climax of this action: Syphax rises,
 marvellously confident in the fulfilment of his ardour and pulls
 back the bed-curtains, to find he has lain with Erictho and begot
 a demon on her, the most terrible punishment on manhood. The
 interact music has so built up the passionate mood that this revelation
 takes on a tremendous theatrical effect.

The more this scene is studied the more does it, in its technical
 brilliance and effect, seem to fit into the pagan and resplendent
 framework of the play as a whole. The interact music, superficially
 outside the pattern of the play, is here most skilfully integrated
 into the action. The scene almost justifies itself on virtuosic
 grounds alone. Marston here accepts the conditions of his theatre
 and uses them to display his craftsmanship to the full.

He has yet more effects, however, and the play continues

musically to its close. The jar of the discovery which brings Syphax and the play back from magic to earth is underlined by the distant sounds of a "march far off", which heralds the last battle and final victory of the Romans. The cornets peal out and Massinissa enters in his armour and is reunited with Sophonisba:

Stay the sword.
 Let slaughter cease, sounds soft as Leda's breast
 (stage direction: "soft musique")
 Slide through all eares, this night be loves high feast.

This is the first meeting since the interrupted wedding night, and they seem to take up from that night's quiet music. This "soft musique" is a telling stroke, and although it is now a musical cliché, from continual film use especially, Marston must be given credit for using the effect with some newness in 1606. It stands out from noisy music of the preceding action and in a scene of this kind, which in a theatre can be acted with an almost unbearable pathos, it makes the emotion controllable and bearable. The cynical assumption that the audience would never get to such a state in this play is one which we have no right to make, however attractive it may seem to-day. Marston sets this muted scene against another fiercer one wherein Massinissa is told to hand over his wife to the Romans lest she tempt him to turn against them. He refuses and poisons her to save her, and in contrast to the ostentatiously loud entry in triumph of Scipio, "Orgaine and Recorders play to a single voice: Enter in the mean time the mournful solemnity of Massinissas presenting Sophon. body". The initial demand smacks of *deus ex machina* to make a rousing ending, but Marston certainly seizes the opportunity given by it. The simple and forceful comparison of the two processions gives the play a firmly tragic conclusion, a musically tragic ending, the whole terminated with a specially marked "cornets a short flourish".

'Sophonisba' with its unusually full directions and wealth of musical effect represents the limits to which this particular type of play could go without venturing into the definitely operatic; the next step is for speech to cross the borders into recitative and song. The extravagance of the play is probably more obtrusive to the reader than the viewer: 'Sophonisba' is, above all, a play for the stage, where its printed opulence is seen for the brilliant theatre that it is.

'Antonio and Mellida' and its sequel, 'Antonio's Revenge,' are earlier plays, where occasionally the music is awkwardly placed, but here also Marston can be seen using music with calculated and often brilliant effect. 'Antonio and Mellida' opens with a battle

staged in the usual manner of swift glimpses of different parts of the field, the whole punctuated by cornets and drums sounding. The balancing effect of the court music is rather uncertainly made in the opening of the second act. Minor characters bustle about, pages bluntly demand a song, "the breefe and semiquaver is wee must have the descant you made upon our names, ere you depart". This building up of the atmosphere of gaiety for the court is busily carried forward in the next entrance: "Enter Forobosco, with two torches: Castilio singing fantastically; Rossline running a Caranto pase, and Balurdo: Feliche following, wondring at them all." To conclude, Piero and his court enter in state and, while he mounts his throne, his attendants are all drawn into the swirling dance which now fills the stage: against this background stands the brooding Jaques-like figure of Feliche and the high-placed Piero, who speaks as the dance goes forward. Thus early was Marston using the technique of speech while music played, music that was heard rather than consciously listened to.

In the third act the scene moves to the country, where the defeated Andrugio is hiding. The song he makes his page sing is one of those which are superfluous to the reader but necessary in the theatre to set an atmosphere economically, apart from its being in accord with social convention of the period, song and music being considered apt to ease melancholy. The sadness of mood is heightened by the foolish serenade Castilio follows with in the next scene:

I will warble to the delicious concave of my
Mistresse ear: and strike her thoughts with
The pleasing touch of my voice.

The fourth act contains an example of Marston's exquisite touch in the use of music. Antonio, separated from Mellida in flight, comes upon his father, Andrugio leaves and Antonio promises to follow, but hesitates, torn between the joy at finding his father and his urgent fear and love for Mellida. Under this stress he asks his page to sing:

I prethee sing, but sirra (marke you me)
Let each note breath the heart of passion,
The sad extracture of extreamest grieve.
Make me a straine; speake, groning like a bell,
That towles departing soules.
Breathe me a point that may inforce me weepe . . .
Howle out such passion, that even this brinish marsh
Will squeeze out teares, from out his spungy cheekes,
The rockes even groane, and—
Pree thee sing, pree thee sing: . . .

It is as if he realized he was losing self-control. The boy "runnes a note, Antonio breaks it":

For look thee boy, my grieve that hath no end,
I may begin to playne, but pree thee sing.

This finely judged scene gains extra point from Mellida's unobserved entry before the song. Only the strong convention of a page singing for his master stands between Marston and the operatic singing by Antonio himself.

The last act relies on the traditional musical finale. Both sub-plot and main plot are separately resolved in musical show. The intrigues of the sub-plot are unravelled in a singing competition which allows variety of voice, first "a high stretcht minikin voice", then "a good strong meane" and lastly the clownish singing of Balurdo, who thrusts himself into the contest. This gay event is the prelude to the masque, but the excitement aroused at this prospect is carefully used only to make the unexpected entry of Andrugio in full armour the more startling. Yet one more reversal follows when the funeral procession of Antonio enters to the music of flutes, only for Antonio to rise from his coffin and seal the happy conclusion of the play. Marston here deploys his very extensive musical forces carefully; they are almost oppressively big, but he does use them to propel his action as far as he can and always with an effect greater than the sounds themselves can give.

The sequel play shows clearly the advances he made, and although not so wide in scope as in 'Sophonisba', music is used with more consistently fine effect. New facts are quickly presented in order to set the play in motion. Piero has murdered Andrugio out of jealousy for marrying Maria, and also Feliche, whose corpse he has put with the sleeping Mellida to blacken her and stop her marrying Antonio. As soon as the audience has learned these facts from Piero and his henchman Strozso, the scene shifts to the road along which Maria approaches the court. The music she hears is the aubade Antonio is presenting to Mellida beneath her window. He has no answer and, perturbed by ominous dreams, orders the cornet to call to her. This links the two parties, for Maria's party hear it jerking up its "strained shrill accents in the capering ayre". Mother and son meet, and all attention is turned to the window, where appears the body of Feliche. It is all blatantly melodramatic, but brilliantly placed after the tensions of the opening actions, all accompanied by the quiet aubade, unwittingly ironic and adding greatly to the uncertainty and anxiety. The announcement, later, of the death of Andrugio causes Alberto to speak a fine tribute to him: "He was the very hope of Italy". During the thirty-eight

lines until the end of the scene "Music sounds softly", the act ending with Pandulpho saying:

Sound lowder musick: let my breath exact,
You strike sad tones unto this dismal act.

The music swells and the stage clears: the mood has changed from the quick passionate opening to this tranquil and sombre close, and again this movement from hatred to the elegiac has been bound tightly with the music.

The second act carries on the solemn mood with the funeral of Andrugio. The clash between the emotion of the music and the reality has been noticed in the aubade to the girl and murdered man. Piero is marked by a deliberately perverse use of music. As he gloatingly watches Antonio speaking with Mellida at her prison-grating he turns to Strozso, saying:

He greeves, laughe Strozso: laugh, he weepes.
. . . Strozso, cause me straight
Some plaining dittie to augment despaire . . .

In his own wooing he sends the foolish Balurdo to sing to Maria. The ill-timed bawdy and smutty songs of Balurdo emphasize Piero's lack of taste as well as symbolizing the falsity of his wooing. The trial of Mellida is based on an effectively simple musical pattern: it begins and ends with loud flourishes on the cornets while the entry of Mellida is announced by still flutes. The trial ends with an unexpected turn against Piero who storms from the chamber crying:

Come, despite of fate,
Sound lowdest musick, lets pase out in state.

Thus is this flourish finely caught up as a symbol of Piero's defiance.

The last act best shows Marston's keener sense of the power of music which throughout the play has been underpinning the tragic mood. The short relief before the climax is Balurdo's short song as he lies in jail, apt to his condition and providing a valuable slackening of tension before the last swift action. This last scene is built round the masque celebrating the wedding of Piero and Maria. Like Syphax, the music increases his confidence:

Why then Io to Hymen, mount a loftie note . . .
Force the plump lipt god,
Skip ligh lavoltaes in your full sapt vaines.
Boy, sing alowd, make heavens vault to ring
With thy breaths strength. I drink. Now lowldly sing.

After the song the masquers enter, and as they begin to dance the ghost of Andrugio appears "betwixt the musick houses", the signal for the tragic turn of events as the dancers seize and kill Piero. The

melodrama of this killing is muted by the last music which reaffirms the solemn mood:

Sound dolefull tunes, a solemne hymne advance,
To close the last act of my vengeance . . .

and so the requiem, "Mellida is dead", is sung.

In Marston's other plays, of course, felicities of musical technique can also be seen. The examinations above show in some small way the effect of these when considered as a group in a play: others can only be briefly mentioned. The use of music to cover love-making in 'The Insatiate Countess' occurs in the middle of an act. Isabella, the countess, and Gnaica leave the stage and "after some short song enter Isabella and Gnaica againe, she hanging aboute his neck lasciviously". This denuding of the stage is most unusual, unless we are to assume that the "harmonious musicke to stirre up appetite to Venus banquet", which Isabella provided, was performed on the stage by a small group, one of whom stepped forward to sing the song. The linking of music with lust was old, and courtesans traditionally sang as part of their allurements, as did 'The Dutch Courtezian' and Zoya in 'The Fawn' when she masqueraded as a loose woman to deceive her husband.

'The Insatiate Countess' is also notable for the manner in which a grand dance weaves together three threads of the action in one scene. Primarily it celebrates the marriage of Isabella and Count Roberto, but for Isabella it means seeing Massino, with whom she falls passionately in love. Massino is so struck by her that he insists upon dancing solo before her, and during this spirited "galliard or lavolta" falls "into the brides lap, but straight leapes up, and danceth it out". Despite this fall being a heinous slur on his manhood, its suggestiveness would not be lost on the audience. The changes of the dance are spaced out with dialogue which fits the dance more closely into the action of the play. In each pause a different plot-strand is emphasized. In one Mendoza wittily woos the widow Lentulus; in another Isabella murmurs justification for her new love, while later there is lighter talk by the double-dealing husbands who find no joy in this enforced dancing to please their wives. In 'The Malcontent' the dance is masqued and makes the musical finale of the play, the dancers are the various couples and groups of characters whose splittings and misunderstandings have formed the marrow of the plot: the masqued dance reunites them all and resolves the tangles of the plot.

'Jack Drum's Entertainment' is more loosely constructed than most of Marston's plays. The big morris dance in the first act has no purpose other than to show the generous nature of Sir Edward in

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'Jack Drum's Entertainment' is more loosely constructed than most of Marston's plays. The big morris dance in the first act has no purpose other than to show the generous nature of Sir Edward in

allowing it. Much better is the play made with the serenade technique. Serenades were frequently used and almost always ill-received; they economically state the case for the unsuccessful lover, leaving the true lover to make his case by action and, usually, romantic poetry. Katherine is serenaded by Puff, with an empty piece of highfalutin song suitable to his character and then by Mamon with an equally apt song that deals more with the chinking of his money than love. Pasquil, the true lover, follows these two, and Marston emphasizes his serious approach and at the same time avoids overdoing the singing by letting him speak his avowals:

More Musick's in thy name, and sweet dispose,
Then in Apollo's Lyre, or Orpheus close.
I'll chaunt thy name, and so inchaunt each eare.

An unexpected twist to this old convention occurs later when Camelia tries to win back the affections of Planet by wooing him with a song and he abruptly rejects it and, for once, it is the woman who is left discomfited. The comic mood of the play is restored after the serious use of music to cure the melancholic Pasquil and Katherine by a gay drinking-song which goes on so long that it blunts its own effect. This rather blatant bowing to theatrical convention is seen again in the aptly named 'What You Will'. An old-fashioned bout of cross-talk between pages is ended with a blunt

And so
Gentle Apollo touch thy nimble string,
Our sceane is donne yet fore we cease wee sing.

Yet in this same play Marston faces the facts most subtly with an outward show of plainness. A schoolmaster chooses out a pupil who, he thinks, might make such a page as some gallants are seeking. "And you have a propensitude to him, he shall be for you: I was solicited to graunt him leave to play the Lady in comedies by the Children, but I knew his voice was to smale and his stature to loe, sing, sing a treble Holifernes; sing. (The Song)".

The clever use of the interact music in the tragedies is paralleled in 'The Dutch Courtezan'. The second act ends with the weary vintner, Mulligrub, perpetual butt of Cocledemoy's jokes, again worsted in an encounter with him. "O wife, O wife, O Jacke how does thy mother? is there any Fidlers in the house?" Mrs. Mulligrub tells him that "Creakes noyse" are present and he says: "Bid 'em play, laugh, make merry, cast up my accountes, for ile go hang myself presently. . . ." Thus the interact is merged into the play. The same method is used after the third act. "Come lets goe heare some musicke, I will never more say my praiers.

Lets goe heare some doleful musicke." A startling contrast to Lampatho's nonchalant "So ends our chat, sound Musick for the Act" in 'What You Will'.

It is perhaps too much to expect unswervingly apt use of music in these plays; music was one of many elements that went to make up a play. No author has ever been consistently perfect; it is enough in this one case that Marston's lapses are so infrequent. Not every play could be so arranged that music was used only where it was essential, especially when it is remembered that the drama was in an experimental state at this time. The Elizabethan expansiveness was giving way to the more uncertain feeling of the Jacobean. 'The Malcontent' demonstrates this duality. It opens with "the vilest out of tune music" coming from the room of the Malcontent and succinctly characterizes him for that contrariness with which Marston associated him. Later, the plan to kill Ferneze, the Duchess's lover, is prepared as we hear the soft love music coming from her room. The music is made to stand for action off-stage, as it were. The song of the pages in the third act and the rambling talk surrounding it, on the other hand, although it fills a necessary gap between two scenes of Malevole's, does so rather awkwardly. Shortly after this Marston shows how he can make an effect by only the suggestion of music. The Duchess's continual demands for music for her dance in the face of the succession of disturbing messages stresses finely her levity in the grave situation. Inevitably it reminds one of Ford's passionate exploitation of the same kind of situation at the end of 'The Broken Heart'.

It is a mark of Marston's range and power in musical techniques that fine effects in later dramatists are often foreshadowed in his work. This is no more to accuse them of plagiarism than it is to declare that Marston was wholly original. Music had been used in English plays from their inception in the Easter service, but Marston is the first consistently subtle user of telling musical effect; the technique of weaving together words and action and sound of music is developed for the first time by him. In this respect he is one of those artists who gather in their own work the heterogeneous work of earlier men and transform it into a homogeneous body of material which sets a form and example to later men. That he had, in his theatre, to use a great deal of music is really neither here nor there, for the other writers in this field also had to do so; but not one approached him in skilful manipulation of musical effect. His skill is such that he can stand as an equal with the other and later brilliant exponents of "musical drama", Shakespeare, Fletcher,

Ford and Brome. (Lest anyone should wonder at the omission of Davenant's name, the writer always associated with the birth of English opera, it may be pointed out that among playwrights of this period he was one of the slightest users of music).

In his own way Marston carried to its limits the use of music in drama, to that border-line where the finished work is still a play with a great deal of music and not a kind of opera with a great deal of dialogue. As Professor E. J. Dent has said, the music generally in these Elizabethan plays is not operatic, it is a kind of inspired incidental music; but sometimes it seems to be more than this, as in the song for Antonio in his moment of uncertainty. In Marston's plays the move away from the purely spoken drama is in a direction that can best be described as operatic unless we are to appropriate the Wagnerian term and call them "music-dramas". What is primarily important at the moment is to establish Marston as the first and conclusive denouncer of those critics who regard his music—and most music in drama—as, at best, something he could not help or as a sop to public taste. Naturally the public liked it, but audiences surely did not sit through two hours of supposedly dull stuff for the sake of a song or two and a dance, and pay for that doubtful pleasure. Marston found that by means of music he could economically yet firmly evoke a mood or atmosphere, he found that music itself could be a powerful motive force in real action, that, far from clogging or halting the action, music could impressively urge it forward. What seems unnecessary to the reader is often of the greatest help to the member of the audience who had to grasp a situation at first hearing and sight with no time to check on previous action or re-read. F. L. Lucas has written of that gulf which "yawns so wide between the audience watching the swift traffic of the stage and the solitary student under his lamp. Midnight oil gives a very different illumination from footlights—often it proves a mere will-o'-the-wisp."¹ By trying to imagine the effect of any play, particularly, in this case, one of Marston's, in the theatre for which it was written, we can see that often it relies on the music in it, that the musical element in it, along with the other constituent parts of the play, is a vitally necessary servant to the action and not an unwanted and hindering bystander, superfluous and yet ineradicable.

¹ 'Greek Drama for Everyone,' Preface p. xiv.

BAROQUE MUSIC ON THE GRAMOPHONE

BY ROBERT DONINGTON

THE gramophone recording companies are making a very extensive contribution to our enjoyment of early music, and I can deal in this article with no more than a sample selection of disks which for one reason or another strike me as particularly interesting. My interest goes chiefly to performances which approach closest to the original performing conditions of the baroque period, because like so many other people nowadays I find this tremendously increases my enjoyment. But that approach is in itself a difficult achievement, and one in which we are feeling our way only by slow degrees. The reader will find much to delight him even in the recordings mentioned below as not strictly authentic from this point of view.

The prize of my collection is Brunswick AXL 2007. This is a mixed assortment of Italian seventeenth-eighteenth-century songs, recorded in 1946 by Guiseppe de Luca at the age of seventy! Now de Luca was one of the very last of the old school, which still accepted the Italian tradition as the basis not only of the Italian style but of the Wagnerian style, the *Lieder* style—in a word, of the entire art of singing. That tradition is almost though fortunately not quite extinct. As a few elderly *cognoscenti* know (and one or two younger ones, like Desmond Shawe-Taylor, who have made a real study of the primitive but unforgettable recordings of the singers trained before 1914), we have as a result no singers now in their prime (with the important exceptions of Callas and Tebaldi) like the greatest of the past ones, and not many like the past average. Stignani is still in pretty good voice, of course; and there may be others of that generation. But I am speaking of our future prospects.

This disk, unlike the primitive ones, is excellently recorded; and though the voice is old, it has retained a beauty impossible in old age with any other singing method. Some of the secrets of that method (easy to name, hard to impart) are perfect placing of the voice, absence of forcing, but razor-sharp attack. Listen to this record and hear what those unexceptionable phrases really mean. Then compare the recordings next to be mentioned—all outstanding by present standards of singing, and yet not one of them in the de Luca class.

The accompaniments on this treasure of a disk are not all historically authentic. But—and this is far more important—the more I read of the baroque treatises and descriptions of singing, the more I grow convinced that the basic technique behind the astonishing

vocal feats of which we learn there was neither more nor less than this self-same Italianate tradition only now for the first time in danger of extinction. True, in a song such as Caccini's famous 'Amarilli', de Luca is interpretatively rather at sea, because that is an idiom so very far removed from anything he can have grown up with; but music not much later is within his comprehension, and he sings it with an authority and an artistry neither of which could be improved upon. Keep it in the catalogue, Brunswick, in the name of all that is irreplaceable!

Hugues Cuénod is the singer of our own times who next comes to my mind as at least worthy of comparison with the past or passing generation. I have here a very noble recording indeed which he has made of Couperin's first 'Tenebrae': Allegro ALX 3003. There is a splendid gamba player, Alfred Zighera (a great improvement on the cello for this type of continuo string bass) and a most musicianly director and harpsichordist, Daniel Pinkham, whose realization is simple but inspired, though either his touch or his harpsichord (or perhaps just the recording) gets decidedly clanketty in his louder passages, which no proper harpsichord ever should. The music grows on you at every hearing, and the singing has much (but not all) of that intense vitality, that variety and that unforced freedom which so delighted me from de Luca. One difference unfavourable to Cuénod is that the declamation is less impassioned and articulate. The old Italians were famous for their melodic line, their unbroken cantilena; but they did not sacrifice their attack to it as younger singers, especially German singers, have come to do recently. They meant every word (and not only every note) with all their hearts. Yet by any standards this disk (which also includes other Couperin vocal music) is a most glorious one, unhesitatingly to be acquired.

Decca LXT 2835 is another mixed bag of seventeenth-eighteenth-century songs, not very suitably set for the pianoforte, but sung with considerable artistry by one of the best-equipped of the French baritones (ever since Lully a speciality of that nation), Gérard Souzay. His voice is beautifully placed, which means that he has what so many lack, a true *piano* (not just a diminishing of volume), and incidentally a telling (as opposed to a forced) *forte*. It is a most pleasing sound; but as song followed song, it grew monotonous for lack of that continual play of the imagination with which you can hear de Luca varying every phrase, and almost every note. It is a singer's imagination, something additional to just good musicianship; de Luca does things to the music which no one but a singer in the grand tradition would think of, though any musician

can appreciate them. And again, Souzay shows no real relish for the words, and no real attack. The line is everything; hence, paradoxically, the line flags for lack of zestful delivery.

It is the same with Suzanne Danco's most accomplished recording of early songs on Decca LX 3113, except that the conscious or unconscious sacrifice of ecstasy to good taste is carried much farther here—and a very long way indeed from the impassioned performances which the contemporary evidence shows were given this early music by its own original interpreters.

This same misconception, that early music should be sung "white", may, I feel, have been drummed into Kirsten Flagstad before her remarkable performance as Dido in Purcell's opera 'Dido and Aeneas', recorded on H.M.V. ALP 1026. She seems to be holding in where nothing in the way of interpretative authenticity genuinely requires it, though not always where perhaps it does (there are some odd scoops and swerves here and there). Yet, because she is Flagstad, there is real ecstasy, and real vocal colour such as warms the heart with all great singing. The opera goes stylishly under Geraint Jones in most respects, though the famous lament is quite simply too slow for a possible interpretation authentic or otherwise (in other words the whole effect of it is endangered by trying to make too much of it). The music throughout is extraordinarily inspired, and the recording will give very great pleasure.

Alfred Deller, the most remarkable of the newly restored race of countertenors, is in his own field a great singer. Much of his work has been done with that excellent lutenist and fine musician, Desmond Dupré. Here is a whole art in miniature. The placing of Deller's voice is very nice; its variety of colour and its dynamic range are not extensive. What makes him a great singer is his singer's imagination, in which he resembles de Luca and the old school, not the rather monotonous singers of our own day. Like de Luca, Deller does something to every phrase, almost to every note; and he does it in true singer's fashion. I believe he was self-taught, at least in this respect; and this suggests that something at any rate of the old tradition is innate and can recreate itself Phoenix-wise in the case of really exceptional flair. But we need the teachers of tradition too, of course. Deller sings Purcell on H.M.V. C 3890 with a lovely sense of style to the excellent harpsichord accompaniment of Walter Bergmann—and the harpsichord for once is recorded loudly enough to be in proper balance.

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The problem in early string music is a rather different one. Here there has been no overall loss of technique; in certain directions

there has been gain. Yet to draw from modern string players the translucent tone and the easy yet distinct articulation required is a rare achievement. It is not hard to do, but it is hard to conceive for a generation brought up on the profoundly different requirements of nineteenth- and twentieth-century music.

All the string playing in the recordings next to be mentioned suffers from an imperfect solution of this general problem; but all of it is favourably influenced by the desire to follow the original models, and all of it has the great initial advantage that the size of the orchestras is small and baroque, not large and romantic. Details of ornamentation are almost invariably incorrect. What is more serious, slow movements which were written as skeletons meant to be clad in extensive, improvised ornamental figuration remain mere bones unclad. The portentousness of most of the concerto adagios is primarily due to this lamentable though customary failing.

On balance, the most successful in this field is the long series of Vox recordings. The string playing has a naturalness far superior to the forced brilliance which most conductors of early music still think necessary. DL 103 has the set of wonderfully varied and beautiful Vivaldi concertos entitled 'La stravaganza', in which the solo fiddling is particularly excellent. DL 113, with Torelli's Concertos Op. 8, is nearly as good; PL 7893 is Corelli's concertos, and PL 8290 is Geminiani's, both likewise admirable. (Some slow movements in these sets are taken too slowly and thus too heavily—as frequent a fault in our performances of early music as its contrary, an excessive speed in fast movements. But most of the tempos here are very good.) All this music makes one realize that Bach's Brandenburgs did not spring from nowhere; and the disks are highly to be recommended.

Vox PL 9150 is a quite outstanding recording of Bach violin concertos, both orchestra and soloists having an unostentatious rightness which is most impressive. Tempos, tone and articulation are alike satisfactory. The Vox Brandenburgs (DL 122) are not as good as this, but still very fine, and more to my taste than the Decca set under Münchinger, whose Bach performances, for all their justly admired musicianship and patent sincerity, are marred by a most restless and choppy articulation throughout the allegros, and by a tendency to cloying tone and dragging tempos in the slow movements (Decca LXT 2501). Yet many of the Decca tempos are good where those of Vox are bad. Surely tempo is one of the hardest tests of musical understanding.

The Virtuosi di Roma give some utterly loving and lovable

fiddling in their recording of Corelli's Christmas Concerto and other early Christmas music on Brunswick AXTL 1032, though not really quite in style; which is easily forgiven to such spontaneous artists. Karl Haas gets very natural, unpretentious and satisfactory string playing, again much better and more appropriate than some highly publicized versions, in his Bach recording on Parlophone PMA 1009—the C minor two-harpsichord Concerto with good soloists save for a slight harshness of touch and too much rigidity in the slow movement. The harpsichord and forte piano (early piano) Concerto by C. P. E. Bach on the back is a perfect treat, and the sound of the fortepiano (made by Hugh Gough) is quite enchanting.

Menuhin's performances of Bach's violin and harpsichord sonatas (H.M.V. BLP 1026) are gloriously light and vital in the allegros, but heavily over-nuanced in some of the slow movements: the old mistake of trying to gild the lily. Kentner's piano accompaniments are sensitive and musicianly in the highest degree, though gravely handicapped by the use of an instrument for which Bach did not compose them.

Bach's three gamba and harpsichord sonatas are played on their own instruments, but disappointingly, on Vox PL 9010. I suspect from the tone and articulation that cello technique is being used on the gamba; the harpsichord is harsh or ill-touched; the whole effect is stiff.

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Rosalyn Turek's Bach playing on the piano has been much acclaimed, and its skill and artistry are unquestionable. But it is also a demonstration of the lengths to which an artist is driven who starts by rejecting the obvious method of using the instrument for which the music is composed and the style which comes naturally to that instrument. Turek has evolved in its place a genuinely impressive idiom; but it is Turek, not Bach—from whom it seems to me far remoter than was Harold Samuel's less self-conscious rendering (a delight to me in my youth). Brunswick AXTL 1036 gives her version of the Forty-Eight.

Albert Schweitzer, despite his almost legendary reputation, is not at all a reliable Bach scholar, but there is a quality of greatness about the man which passes into his playing. One of the most moving records in my collection is his playing of Bach organ works on Columbia 33 CX 1074. He evidently experiences the music as a spiritual elation from which not one phrase escapes; they are all controlled by it. That gives us the real Bach as a more authentic version devoid of it could never do. This record is a prize indeed.

Geraint Jones is a thoroughly authentic organist in Bach, and a

most inspired and masterly musician in addition. In a somewhat different way, his D minor Toccata and Fugue on H.M.V. C 4214 is absolutely first-class. Do you find the organ a dull instrument as a general rule? I do; but the Schweitzer record comes from some earthly heaven; and the Geraint Jones record has a splendid touch of the devil. A most exciting disk, and proof that music on the organ *can* sound completely clean and clear.

Nearly as good is a Vox recording of Frescobaldi's magnificent organ works (PL 8780).

George Malcolm's brilliance sometimes verges on restlessness, but he is wholly suited to the Scarlatti harpsichord sonatas on Decca LXT 2918. The sheer sound is a delight; and the musician-ship is of a very high order indeed.

Bach's Easter Oratorio on Vox PL 8620, and his Magnificat on Vox PL 8890, are excellent performances apart from the heaviness inseparable from ordinary modern singing methods (somehow always aggravated by oratorio). Vox PL 8980 has an uneven performance of Bach's Coffee Cantata and a very bad one (with a dreadful harpsichordist) of his 'Amore traditore'.

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Monteverdi is a supreme example of a composer whom we had long seen praised in the histories of music but virtually never heard. There was not one word of praise too much; he is one of the most glorious geniuses. Nadia Boulanger's famous old H.M.V. recording of mixed vocal and instrumental madrigals (instruments were usually part of the original performances) is now replaced by a Brunswick disk, AXTL 1051, which is an obvious "must" for lovers of early music. The music is perfectly astonishing, and the interpretations have all her old stylishness. The only serious deficiencies are those caused in the singing by the decline in tradition already discussed. That cannot be helped in the short run, but some of her singers make a much better job of it than others.

Vox PL 8560 contains that small masterpiece of Monteverdi's, 'Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda', well sung to a shockingly metallic harpsichord, and two shorter works less well sung. Vox PL 7902 brings the famous Vespers of 1610 in Redlich's highly musical and imaginative version. Leo Schrade's version on L'Oiseau-Lyre OL 50022 is less boldly edited. The original leaves a very great deal to be editorially added; and though some of Redlich's additions (chiefly instrumental "added parts") sail pretty near the wind from the point of view of stylistic anachronism, the general effect comes nearer to what Monteverdi unquestionably wanted than the more correct and cautious Schrade. Some of the

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Vox tempos are better, and some of the L'Oiseau-Lyre; and the same is true of the singing. Either version will be enjoyed, since they are both in the main very well performed.

Andrea Gabrieli composed his very great music early in the same period of ferment among the Italian musicians. Vox PL 8370, which contains a Mass and motets of his performed by the choir of the Capella di Treviso, is a very remarkable record indeed, because it is sung as only certain Italian choirs sing early polyphony, with a colourful, varied tone and a dramatic, incisive articulation which are the choral equivalent of the Italianate solo tradition of singing exemplified above in the recording of de Luca. I have no doubt at all that this is essentially the traditional method, and the truest one both historically and artistically. English choral singing at its most skilful is a more flawless product, and could therefore presumably go one better still if its resources could be extended to include the declamatory style. At present it lacks robustness and a cutting edge. After all, religion also is a passion.

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I have here Vols. IV and VI from the lengthy H.M.V. History of Music in Sound, which accompanies the 'New Oxford History of Music'. It is an uneven but most impressive achievement.

In Vol. IV the choir of St. Paul's under Dykes Bower sing in the beautifully trained English manner; Anthony Bernard's London Chamber Singers are fairly good in the same manner; the Hampstead Parish Church Choir under Westrup sing plummily in Gibbons, and "strings", *i.e.* of the violin family, are unnecessarily substituted for the viols intended, which is both historically and musically a pity. Margaret Field-Hyde's vocal ensemble is neither well in style nor well in tune, the music sounding unclear and inarticulate; the Safford Cape ensemble on the contrary is enchantingly crisp and stylish, while his accompanying instruments ring altogether true and add to the immense enjoyability of the whole, so that his contribution can be recommended both to the specializing student and to the average listener.

Another splendid contribution comes from the Capilla de Música de Montserrat, where the singing, though less declamatory than the Italian, has up to a point a like air of traditional authority (those who find the Italians too theatrical for their modern taste may prefer the Spanish variant). Henry Washington's Brompton Oratory Choir are also most convincing; of all the English choirmasters I believe he comes nearest to the style (or rather styles, since the tradition admits of many variants) which Renaissance vocal polyphony requires. But the Italians still have it over all the others.

Goldsbrough's Giovanni Gabrieli is exciting music excitingly performed. Diana Poulton's lute is more sonorous than her *vihuela* (but at its very best the lute can be more sonorous yet); the singers she accompanies are neither vocally nor interpretatively interesting. The viols of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis are by far the most accomplished now playing, and their contribution is extremely enjoyable. Susi Jeans's organ playing is at her admirable best. But in this volume the prize goes to Westrup's performance of a long scene from Monteverdi's 'Orfeo', with the revival of which he was already so intimately associated when still an Oxford undergraduate. Monteverdi wrote no more inspired, dramatic and expressive music. Its vitality is prodigious; and Westrup has caught this in his interpretation, which has just the lively ring required.

Vol. VI includes some really good harpsichord playing (but for an occasional harsh chord) from Aimée van de Wiele; and a wonderful organ record from Geraint Jones, who also accompanies, most beautifully, Winifred Roberts in portions of a Biber violin sonata. Since this is probably the best fiddling and the most stylistically admirable in the volume, as well as one of the most beautiful works, I regret the decision to record it incomplete.

Goldsbrough must I think have been responsible for some nice ornamental embellishment in the Corelli two-violin trio Sonata, which he accompanies on the organ—an absolutely authentic, very interesting and rather beautiful variant on the usual harpsichord. His Purcell and Telemann performances are also apt and attractive.

This whole series must have cost an immense amount of mainly well-spent labour, and I hope the reader will work through it for further pleasures at his own leisure. It is impossible to do it proper justice here; and it is an important addition to our sources of education and enjoyment.

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For a *bonne bouche* there is Carl Dolmetsch's recorder recital on Decca LM 4518. In the Handel A minor Sonata (one of his best works) the slow movements are ornamented with really adequate free embellishments, while throughout the smaller ornaments are absolutely correct, which they are not in any other of the records here reviewed—not even the History of Music in Sound. In the Daniel Purcell divisions (variations) Carl Dolmetsch has written a harpsichord accompaniment which adds very greatly to the musical effect—a rare and difficult art. The Couperin and the Elizabethan tunes are a delight each in their kind. And it is a relief not even to have to raise the issue of authenticity. Carl Dolmetsch is not his father's son for nothing.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn. By H. C. Robbins Landon. pp. 863.
(Universal Edition and Rockliff, London, 1955, £6.)

This vast and comprehensive volume is in reality three books in one: a complete textual guide to the corpus of Haydn's symphonies, a short practical treatise on performance, and a critical and historical study of Haydn's symphonic development. Indeed the Appendices almost constitute a fourth, for they contain an enormous amount of material properly belonging to the *Revisionsbericht* of the still uncompleted new Collected Edition of Haydn's works, and are in some ways the most remarkable achievement in the book. The first is a thematic list of all Haydn's authentic symphonies, cataloguing all the sources for each work and expanding (for the London symphonies and certain of the earlier symphonies in the Breitkopf *Gesamtausgabe*) into a full list of corrections; the second is a thematic list of 134 "doubtful and spurious" symphonies, in many cases reassigned to their rightful authors. Mr. Landon has examined every primary source—autographs, manuscript copies and authentic early editions—as well as innumerable secondary sources of varying value, for all the authentic symphonies, as well as investigating the sources of the "doubtful and spurious" works, searching not only the main national and university libraries now accessible in Europe, but also the vitally important monastic libraries of Austria, together with certain private collections hitherto ignored. His classification and evaluation of these sources—on the basis of copyists' handwritings, the watermarks on the paper used, the probable access of the publishers of early editions to authentic manuscript material—will undoubtedly stand as one of the major contributions to musical scholarship in this century and form the basis of any future editing of Haydn's symphonies.

The conclusions resulting from this heroic labour are far-reaching and involve questions of authenticity, of chronology and of textual correctness. As regards authenticity, Mr. Landon's exhaustive search for manuscript sources, and his scrupulous sifting of those in the "doubtful and spurious" category, finally dispose of the myth of a vast number of unknown Haydn symphonies awaiting discovery. The list of 104 authentic symphonies, as embodied in the old Breitkopf edition, is confirmed as a working basis (and the numbering very sensibly retained despite the numerous corrections in their chronology), and only a tiny handful of additions remain to be made: one lost work in D major listed in Haydn's catalogue, two detached movements, partly in autograph, found in Berlin, which formed part of one of the many versions of Symphony No. 63, the string Quartet in B flat, Op. 1 No. 5 (already recognized as a displaced symphony) and another early and primitive work in the same key, classified as a partita in most monastic libraries but by Haydn himself in his main catalogue as a symphony. A score of the quartet-symphony, with the additional wind parts which Mr. Landon found in manuscript at St. Florian, is given in a pocket at the back of the book (it is perhaps ungracious to wish that the choice had fallen on the B flat "symphony-partita", as being the less familiar and accessible work). In all these explorations Mr. Landon takes as his base camp Larsen's great book 'Die Haydn-

Überlieferung', particularly as regards the conclusions to be drawn from the two thematic catalogues prepared under Haydn's own supervision—the draft catalogue begun in 1765 as well as the catalogue drawn up by Elssler in 1805—and it is of particular value to the student to have Larsen's conclusions, at least as far as the symphonies are concerned, made available and amplified in English.

Mr. Landon then examines his source-material from the point of view of chronology. Here he makes shrewd use of the 1765 draft catalogue to decide the dates of symphonies by their position in the catalogue in relation to others of which the dates are known and demonstrates how the watermarks on the paper of early autographs can be used to determine the dates of manuscript symphonies of about the same period in which the copyists have used paper from the same mill. These methods, coupled with a discreet use of internal evidence—quite apart from the recent discovery of several autographs—lead to the surprising result that of the 104 symphonies no fewer than 52 are re-dated, provisionally or definitely. The main trend is to back-date—not often as drastically as No. 72, a "hunting" symphony which is an obvious sister-work to the "Horn-Signal" Symphony No. 31, but quite enough to throw the weight of numbers into the earlier years and thus to present a more detailed picture of the fluidity and diversity of Haydn's immature style. Occasionally, however, a forward dating made on scientific evidence is corroborated on stylistic grounds. Such is the case of the remarkable D minor Symphony No. 26, put forward from "about 1765" to "about 1767-68" on the strength of its position in relation to other entries in the draft catalogue. This makes it a near-contemporary of No. 49—the wonderful 'La Passione'—back-dated by its recently discovered autograph to 1768; and here Mr. Landon's discovery, in the monastery of St. Florian, of the eighteenth-century version of the plainsong Passion according to St. Mark from which much of the thematic material of the first movement is drawn, confirms the link between these two "Passiontide" symphonies, besides pointing to plainsong as a hitherto unrecognized source of Haydn's melodic inspiration.

The chapters on the use of the sources to establish a correct performing text, and on Haydn's symphonies in performance, provide essential information to conductors and to editors of performing editions. Especially important are the insistence on the need for a full *basso continuo* of harpsichord, string bass and bassoon in all symphonies up to about 1770 and the evidence adduced regarding the presence of the bassoon both *col basso* and as a member of the continuo (in regard to which Haydn's expressed wishes are quoted from a letter of instructions accompanying the manuscript of a new cantata which he was sending to a monastery for performance). The section on the original texts of the first six "Salomon" symphonies is a scarifying indictment of the performing editions in common use and should be in the hands of every orchestral conductor in the country, together with the accompanying list of corrections from Appendix I—which in addition supplies, for the first time, the correct original trumpet and drum parts of Symphony No. 98 according to the autograph. (The material contained in this section has already been published here, in 'The Music Review', February 1954, and it is unfortunate that in the section of Appendix I devoted to

Symphony No. 96 the omission of two lines obscures the fact—which the corresponding list of corrections in the article made abundantly clear—that the trumpet and drum parts in the trio of the minuet are spurious.) The sections on tempo and on ornaments group together the available contemporary evidence with the utmost lucidity. It is, however, curious that Mr. Landon regards Haydn's minuets as undergoing "a steady quickening of tempo" throughout his life, whereas the evidence of the string quartets indicates that the earlier, swift-moving minuet tradition persisted in his work from the outset alongside the "slow and stately" tradition of the mid-eighteenth century.

The critical study of Haydn's symphonic development, which occupies the greater part of the book, provides a survey of this aspect of his work on a scale never before attempted. Such a survey brings out the salient lines of development—the long, tentative early period, the sudden, sharp maturing in the years immediately preceding 1772, the no less sudden and strange collapse, for about ten years, from 1774 till the period of the "Paris" symphonies, the slow but sure recovery and the final fulfilment—not only in the twelve London symphonies, but ultimately in the six late Masses, which Mr. Landon regards as Haydn's true "symphonic legacy". This suggestion—at first sight a strange one—is curiously convincing to anyone who has felt, in Haydn's late Masses, not only the perfected mastery of orchestration but also their symphonic sense of design. Many of Mr. Landon's other suggestions are most illuminating, e.g. his derivation of Haydn's final sonata-rondo form (which he regards as Haydn's own invention) from the earlier *fausse-reprise* convention. Others are more open to question: there is no real evidence that Haydn's recession around 1774 was due to Prince Nicholas Esterházy's insistence that he should write simpler and more accessible music. But such minor challenges on points of detail do not affect the magnitude or the permanent value of Mr. Landon's achievement.

R. H.

Nicolas Medtner (1879-1951): a Tribute to his Art and Personality. Edited by Richard Holt. pp. 238. (Dobson, London, 1956, 21s.)

In his contribution to this compendious volume Mr. K. S. Sorabji relates that being desirous of understanding the two stanzas by Tchev printed in Russian at the head of the E minor Sonata, Op. 25 No. 2, he wrote to the late Mrs. Rosa Newmarch begging her to render them in English. When acceding to his request that pioneer musical Russophile expressed astonishment "that anybody at that time (1912) even *knew* of Medtner's name in this country, let alone was studying his work!" There were, however, others who somewhat earlier had discovered in their researches among vast piles of music emanating chiefly from the "Five" and their followers that here was a composer of music quite different from that of the nationalists, and that in this very difference lay a conspicuous distinction.

In this symposium, constructed by musicians nearly all of whom have enjoyed personal access to Medtner, and who are therefore in a position to quote chapter and verse in support of their belief in his greatness, there are a certain number of loose statements. His widow commits a conspicuous understatement. She refers to Safonov as "a" instead of "the" famous Russian musician, erroneously assuming that that once frequent

visitor to London requires introduction. Dominique Laberge is made in his 'Homage to Medtner' to commit an entomological error (probably through faulty translation) in characterizing the bee as exclusive in the choice of flowers which it "sips", thereby doing violence to the text of 'The Tempest'. And Medtner himself becomes peculiarly pedantic when expressing satisfaction with Rimsky-Korsakov for having, in his text-book on Harmony, signified that it was "compiled" (*sostavil*) and not "composed" (*sochinit*). "Composed" in this context would surely have been grossly inappropriate.

In Cedric Glover's essay on 'Medtner's Art' there is a somewhat cryptic reference to a conversation, at first acquaintance, between the composer and that expert amateur organist, Sir James Jeans. The former expressed gratitude that "the great mathematician had seemed able to discern a spiritual basis in the universe", to which positive assertion Jeans made a somewhat non-committal reply. Anyone personally acquainted with the late author of 'Science and Music' will understand this reluctance to accept Medtner's assertion. In the same contribution there is a remark that comes curiously in a book in which the inevitability of Medtner's immortality is taken for granted. "He was perhaps confident that his music had permanent qualities and would one day find its true place. Time will show whether he was right. . . ." One would have imagined the whole purpose of this published memorial to be that of proclaiming complete faith in the permanence of Medtner's contribution to the musical art. Ernest Newman, perhaps the most distinguished and certainly the most critical of the editor's team, abandons his habitual forthrightness, seemingly preferring to remain subtly ambiguous in a declaration that "Medtner was one of those composers who are classics in their lifetime".

It has been said that some of Medtner's compositions afford more enjoyment to the executant than to the listener. This is of course largely due to their harmonic and rhythmic complexity. A. J. Swan is of the opinion that to the new listener such music may mean either nothing at all or everything in the world. As to meaning "nothing at all", this surely applies to every modern artistic manifestation, be it musical, literary or in the domain of the plastic arts. In the welter of modernism with which we are now being assailed all over Europe many examples make us wonder how an instrumentalist could possibly contemplate the study, and especially the committal to memory of such, at first sight, perplexing material. The explanation is that after a brief acquaintance the performer begins at first to understand and perhaps (though this is not an inevitable consequence) to enjoy. Plenty of people will no doubt disagree with Medtner's own not very lucid definition of modernism as "the fashion for fashion" and "the tacit accord of a whole generation to expel the Muse".

Mr. Holt, the editor of this testimony of faith, has assembled a galaxy of musicians and musicologists of many nationalities. If any of them takes an optimistic view of Newman's apparently two-edged profession of faith it would express belief that should Medtner's music fail to survive such disaster would be attributable not to any lack of quality in the composer's output but to the failure of the broad musical public to appreciate the genuinely aristocratic.

M. M.-N.

Ernest Chausson: the Composer's Life and Works. By Jean-Pierre Barricelli and Leo Weinstein. pp. 241. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1955, \$4.00.)

It seems rather late for an English book on Chausson, when the centenary of his birth (January 1955) did not even produce a French one, and there has in fact never been a full-size biography and study of his work. But let us not be too ungrateful: after all it is useful to have a book on any composer on a musician's shelves, at least for reference, and he is not compelled to read it if he has no urgent desire to do so. It cannot be said that either this book as such or its subject is likely to arouse such a desire in music-lovers nowadays. The brutal truth is that Chausson no longer interests many people. His life was full of ease and empty of striking events, apart from the unhappy bicycle accident that cut it short at the age of forty-four. His work, though noble and technically unexceptionable, is singularly flavourless in itself: one is aware only of a dash of Wagner and handfuls of Franckian seasoning not very effectively disguising a general insipidity.

It is difficult enough to keep Franck alive to-day, but when we do want that sort of music—as we do occasionally want anything with a pronounced flavour of its own—we go to him, not to the pupils who watered down his idiom and are now among the great unwanted of music: Bordes, Castillon, Lekeu and the rest, but not d'Indy, who is a remarkable master in his own right, despite, not because of the Franck strain in him. It is difficult to imagine anybody asking for Chausson's music now, in France or out of it. The pallid refinement of one of his songs, the restrained beauty of the 'Poème' for violin and orchestra or the elevated if vague rhetoric of the Concerto for violin, piano and string quartet are agreeable things if we happen to come across them, but nobody clamours for them if they are not there; and apart from them one may search in vain in the catalogue appended to this book for anything which one would go far out of one's way to seek. It is always a peculiar pleasure to resuscitate a neglected artist and find qualities in him one had forgotten or never suspected; but one remembers only too well the well-meaning efforts of sympathy that used to be made whenever a work by Chausson was performed in the old days, and the pall of indifference that would invariably descend and blot it out. It was never anything as strong as aversion: the music was itself too weak and negative for that.

Messrs. Barricelli and Weinstein hardly succeed in making the biography interesting, but that is not their fault, and they do enliven it by some attractive letters, from Debussy and others. Not that Chausson's life was uninteresting to himself: he had his work and knew all sorts of fascinating people. The parties of musicians and literary folk he gathered at his sumptuous town house must have been worth attending. The trouble is that lists of the mere names of those who were present, however impressive, do not make interesting reading. As the authors truly say:

It is a monumental loss that among Chausson's guests there was not a Marcel Proust who could have immortalized the brilliant gatherings at the Boulevard de Courcelles.

Unfortunately, what transpires from these reports does nothing to persuade the reader that Chausson's fame rests on a solid artistic basis. On the contrary, one feels that he had an unfair advantage with all the chances, so often denied to great artists, of enlisting other people's interest and

securing admiration from all those who had the privilege of seeking uncommonly good spiritual and no doubt equally exquisite physical nourishment at his famous *soirées*. This is not to suggest that such allurements were either offered and accepted with a conscious thought of repayment. Chausson was a man of excellent character and had the modesty of an artist who is aware of not being of the front rank. Still, one knows what the world is, and how these things work.

The second half of the book, a discussion of Chausson's works by categories, is well done, and excessive claims are not made for everything he ever wrote. But again, it all comes to far less than the authors no doubt intended. They recognize the "vagueness", "incompleteness" and "indefinitiveness" [*sic*] of Chausson's music, and though they try diffidently to turn these defects into merits, they fail to convince the reader, being clearly not convinced themselves; and such epithets as "sensitivity" or "restrained sensitization of a hidden feeling" seem to turn unawares into adverse criticism in their hands. In French books and articles on bloodless composers of the type of Chausson one comes sooner or later on a reference to their "pudicity", a term which, on the contrary, attempts to turn a defect into a virtue. One had hoped to escape this in a book on such a composer written in English; but no the very first sentence in the very first chapter on the works, entitled "A Musical Personality", reads thus:

"Melancholy" and "*pudeur*" best designate the dominant traits of Ernest Chausson's personality, let us say French melancholy and aristocratic *pudeur*.

After that one is inclined to deal with this book as Paolo and Francesca did with their day's reading, though not from overwhelming love. However, it is as well to persevere to the end, for Messrs. Barricelli and Weinstein reopen a chapter of musical history that is quite well worth looking at once again, for all its unimportance, and may then be left to rest on the shelf, as Chausson's music has now done these many years.

E. B.

Correspondence. Hans von Bülow and Richard Strauss. Ed. by Willi Schuh & Franz Trenner. Translated by Anthony Gishford. pp. 104. (Boosey & Hawkes, London, 1955, 10s. 6d.)

The letters of Bülow and Strauss were first published in the 'Richard Strauss Jahrbuch' for 1954. They record a relationship that was of intense significance in Strauss's life—he himself named Bülow as one of three prime influences on his career (the other two were his father and Alexander Ritter). Now the correspondence appears in an English translation by a member of the firm of Strauss's English publishers, the editor of 'Tempo'.

The friendship began when Bülow, who had previously seen and disliked some of Strauss's early piano pieces ("immature and precocious" he called them), and who was unlikely to favour the son of the arch-anti-Wagnerian Franz Strauss, decided to perform young Strauss's *Serenade* for wind, Op. 7. He commissioned another similar work (the *Suite* eventually numbered Op. 4) and then obtained for Strauss a post as his assistant at Meiningen. Strauss received his grounding there as a conductor, and when their paths again divided the two remained in correspondence. Bülow championed Strauss's music, even when he did

not like it, and he was quick to advise Strauss when his ambitions made him dissatisfied with inferior posts and to console him in his discomforts. Strauss for his part retained a consistently filial and pious approach to his mentor; but towards the end of Bülow's life he became more and more antipathetic to the direction in which Strauss's musical inclinations were leading him; and Strauss became more and more bitter against Bülow. The savageness of Strauss's feelings may be discovered in the 'Briefe an meine Eltern'; the only hint of it in these letters appears in 1892, when Strauss writes that "an apparent mistrust which I have thought to see creeping into your attitude towards me during these last years has been oppressing me long since, and has caused me much pain".

We learn much about the two men's musical tastes—Strauss at first had no use for 'Parsifal' even when he had learned to love 'Tristan'; Bülow detested Borodin's second Symphony. Bülow was given to the most hideous puns, and both men to involved academic allusions. These inflict nightmares on the translator, and Mr. Gishford must be congratulated on his ingenuity, although he has still been beaten once or twice. Anyone who has attempted translation knows that it is a pretty thankless task, and that holes can be picked in the most scrupulously polished version: *allerhöchsten Hände* means the hands of his Highness, and it is possibly misleading to say "the highest hands". Likewise it is easy to laugh at the almost literal rendering of Strauss's fulsome modes of address and leavetaking: "With highest regard Your Honour's ever grateful" and "Most revered Herr von Bülow". What about "lady wife" for *Gattin*—perhaps in the 1890s it will do well—and "Till we meet again" for *auf Wiedersehen*? They are solutions to almost insoluble problems. On the whole it is not difficult to accept Mr. Gishford's labours gratefully. There are one or two printer's errors, and the price seems heavy for just over a hundred pages, but the little volume is easy to read, for it is sensibly produced.

W. S. M.

Orchestration. By Walter Piston. pp. 477. (Gollancz, London, 1955, 21s.)

A manual on orchestration that starts off with the sentence "The true art of orchestration is inseparable from the creative act of composing music" starts off on the right foot. Orchestration, like composition, cannot be taught, in the strict sense of the word. It is an inborn faculty but capable, where it exists, of further development through training and, more important, the study of the great masters of the orchestra who never "orchestrated" but thought naturally, inevitably in terms of their medium. It is with this fundamental recognition at the back of his mind that Walter Piston, himself a distinguished orchestral composer, has written this manual, and what an excellent manual it is! As with his previous treatises on harmony and counterpoint, Piston presents the facts, analyses them, and comments on them in a manner which inspires unqualified confidence in the author's sound approach and his real insight into intrinsic problems. Part II of the book the student will find particularly stimulating and in some respects novel, for here Piston proceeds to examine the treatment of various kinds of texture, from purely harmonic (chordal) to homophonic, contrapuntal and complex combinations. Not the least commendable aspect of this comprehensive book is

the balanced choice of extracts, ranging as it does from Haydn and Mozart to Bartók and Stravinsky. For once the publisher's blurb cannot be accused of hyperbole when it says that this is "truly a book for the professional, the amateur, the student and the mere listener". M. C.

Harmony. By Heinrich Schenker. Edited and annotated by Oswald Jonas; translated by Elisabeth Mann Borgese. pp. 359. (University of Chicago Press, 1954.)

This substantial book, described on the cover as "The only English translation of a classic in Musical Theory", is not a text-book on harmony in the normal sense; it is, rather, a "philosophical" rumination on the "psychological", "mystical" and even "biological" aspects of harmony, translated into American.

Schenker's 'Harmony' was first published anonymously in 1906 under the title 'New Musical Theories and Fantasies—by an Artist', and was the firstfruits of its author's "quest for a *pattern in nature* for music as art". A short quotation may serve to show the approach:

Obviously, every tone is possessed of the same inherent urge to procreate infinite generations of overtones. Also this urge has its analogy in animal life; in fact, it appears to be in no way inferior to the procreative urge of a living being.

This fact again reveals to us the biological aspect of music, as we have emphasized it already in our consideration of the procreative urge of the motif (sec. 4). Thus every tone is the bearer of its generations and—what is more relevant for us in this connection—contains within itself its own major triad, 1:5:3.

On a first reading of the book one is tempted to dismiss it as a verbose example of pseudo-intellectualism (even allowing for the things that Schenker's original German must have suffered at the hands of the translator); gradually, however, as one toils through page after page of "philosophical" jargon or quite unnecessarily complex mazes of speculation, the conviction dawns that Schenker is wrestling with basic problems of musical theory, and, however far he may be from solving or even elucidating them, he is, nevertheless, concerning himself with things that matter.

There seem to be two fundamental weaknesses in the whole approach to the subject: firstly, the acceptance of an (albeit modified) acoustical basis for harmony; secondly, and of much more serious import, the almost complete disregard for the history and development of music and musical technique before the time of J. S. Bach.

The acoustical basis of harmony appears to be brought in as part of the "quest for a pattern in nature", and when it threatens to become embarrassing it is thrown overboard. The overtones 1-5 are accepted with delight—they give us the "major triad, a conceptual abbreviation of nature"; but "No Overtone beyond the Fifth in the Series Has Any Application to our Tonal System" (heading to sec. 11, p. 25).

The human ear can follow Nature as manifested to us in the overtone series only up to the major third as the ultimate limit; in other words, up to the overtone which results from the fifth division. This means that those overtones resulting from higher subdivisions are too complicated to be perceived by our ear, except in those cases where the number of divisions is composite. . . . It would exceed the scope of this chapter to describe the physiological organization of the ear and to investigate why it is capable of reacting only to the first five simple divisions, while rejecting the others.

Then follows an analogy of the eye and the five-line stave. These quota-

tions are sufficient, perhaps, to show the method and quality of the argument.

According to Schenker's philosophy, the Major system is the work of nature, the Minor, "the artificial tonal system", artist-made. He sums up the situation thus (p. 55):

We have, thus far, reached two major conclusions:

1. The motif has introduced into music the possibility of associating ideas, an element which is essential to any art and which, accordingly, could not be withheld from music in the long run unless music was to be bereft of any possibility of development and growth.
2. The artist's motivic endeavor led quite spontaneously to the establishment of the major and minor modes, since both show, in their decisive points—the tonic, the dominant, and the subdominant—an even temperature, major or minor, and are therefore particularly suitable for the development of motivic problems.

The "Other Systems (Church Modes)", save those which conform to the major or minor pattern, are "unnatural", or at best "experiments":

Nevertheless, I am far from denying the rightful and real existence of these systems, despite their unnaturalness. Historically they constitute inevitable stages of development. They have furnished the most convincing proof for the fact that systems and theories, constructed on paper arbitrarily or by dint of some misunderstanding of history, are soon led *ad absurdum* by the practical experiments of artists. . . . Hence there is no violence against the spirit of History in the assumption that the old church modes, though they had their undeniable right to existence, were nothing but experiments—experiments in word and fact, *i.e.* in theory as well as in practice—whence our art benefited especially in so far as they contributed decisively to the clarification, *e contrario*, of our understanding of the two main systems (pp. 58, 59).

It seems clear that for Schenker music means the music of the period bounded by J. S. Bach and Brahms. The diatonic system of tonality with its major and minor modes is the "official" medium; all other systems of the past, present or future are "experiments" doomed to failure, since they are not supplied by nature nor are they the outcome of the experiments of real "artists".

It is only too easy to tilt at the inconsistencies, complications, muddled thinking and special pleading which are, to a great extent, the outcome of the "quest for a pattern in nature" for an isolated period of music.

Of much greater interest is the consideration of the "scale-step" theory which, however clumsily argued, does show a real endeavour to get to the roots of harmonic structure. Theorists of the past have been far too much inclined to regard almost any combination of notes sounded simultaneously as a "chord" in its own right (if it can be fitted into the list of generally accepted harmonies) often with complete disregard for the context. The status of a "chord"—whether it is a point of real structural importance, or a mere passing or decorative combination of notes—is perhaps the most difficult thing to define or explain in the theory of music; it is not necessarily a matter of duration or accentual position, but rather the musical effect of the individual chord in its context. Schenker states his proposition thus:

. . . my concept of the scale-step, if it is to serve its purpose, is far loftier and far more abstract than the conventional one. For not every triad must be considered as a scale-step; and it is most important to distinguish between C as the root of a triad and C as a scale-step.

The scale-step is a higher and more abstract unit. At times it may even comprise several harmonies, each of which could be considered individually as an independent triad or seventh chord; in other words, even if, under certain circumstances, a certain number of harmonies look like independent triads or seventh chords, they may nonetheless add up, in their totality, to one single triad, *e.g.* C-E-G, and

they would have to be subsumed under the concept of this triad on C as a scale-step. The scale-step asserts its higher or more general character by comprising or summarizing the individual phenomena and embodying their intrinsic unity in one single triad (pp. 138-39).

§ 79. But how to recognize a scale-step if it does not coincide in all cases with the graspable phenomenon of the triad? . . . There are no rules which could be laid down once and for all; for by virtue of their abstract nature, the rules flow, so to speak, from the spirit and intention of each individual composition. I shall quote, therefore, a number of examples. . . .

The investigation which follows is extremely interesting, whether its results convince the reader or not.

The development of the scale-step theory produces what Schenker calls "the Concept of Tonalization and of Chromatization". These formidable terms (which include "Microtonalization") disguise a process which is widely recognized to-day as the theory of "applied dominants" or decorative chords and unessential notes grouped around a harmony of structural importance. These "concepts" are worth careful consideration.

Oswald Jonas, who edits and annotates the book, is obviously a convinced and enthusiastic disciple. His excellent introduction and running commentary do something towards clarifying the text, but even with this helpful guide the journey through this jungle of musical-philosophical-psychological-mystical biology is one for the hardened traveller and then should not be undertaken by anyone devoid of a sense of humour.

H. K. A.

The Commonwealth of Art: Style in the Fine Arts, Music and the Dance. By Curt Sachs. pp. 404. (Dobson, London, 1955, 42s.)

When asked originally to explain what he meant to imply in the title 'Music and Letters', A. H. Fox Strangways retorted, "Have you never heard of hendiadys?", and in the preface to Vol. I, No. 1, he wrote, "The title may remind us that there was once a state, the education of whose citizens consisted in letters, music and gymnastic, and that this association of letters and music is the essence of the thing." Curt Sachs's book, new to England though previously published in America, may perhaps be described as a hendiapanta, for he takes as his text some words of Schiller:

Just as carefully as the pedant secludes his special learning from all other branches of knowledge, the philosopher strives to enlarge its domain and to re-establish their union. I say: to re-establish. Only abstract reasoning has built the partitions between the arts. The philosophical mind unites where the pedant parts. He is convinced that in the provinces of both the intellect and the senses all things are linked together, and in his desire for synthesis he cannot content himself with fragments.

Most of us are familiar with the type of criticism that evades coming to grips with its subject by drawing comparisons, generally superficial and distracting ones, with other arts. I learnt recently from a monograph on Graham Sutherland by a distinguished man of letters that "Sutherland's harmonic progressions will seem in general as rugose as Beethoven's". There is in this statement the supposition, here forced to an extreme and highly detailed degree that makes it grotesque, of a uniformity of impulse behind art, with the shape it takes—music, letters, painting, architecture—simply the way in which the impulse is realized. It is this supposition that Dr. Sachs examines. "The basic forces at the

bottom of art", he writes in his Introduction, "do not change whether we build, carve, paint, or compose", and he condemns superficial comparisons in Goethe's words; it "can only amuse us in as far as we play with certain vague similarities, and, dropping one, seizing another, and so on, skilfully teeter hither and thither". Nor, it may be added, is he concerned with a Skriabinesque synthesis of the arts.

He divides his book into three parts. Part I, *An Outline of Comparative Art History*, sketches out the fluctuation and alternation of trends from primitive times up to the end of the second world war in a series of "cross-sections", divided up roughly generation by generation. This is Dr. Sachs's exposition: though critical opinion is offered by way of explanation, his intention is primarily to marshal facts. Even in a survey that covers all nations, all times and most arts in 165 pages, he produces an astonishing amount of sheer factual information. Not all of this is accurate: for example, the author of 'The Beggar's Opera' was not John Day (this slip is reaffirmed in the Index), the great Lion Gate is at Mycenae and not Tiryns, and Homer nowhere describes the episode of the Wooden Horse. These are almost matters of common knowledge, and their incorrectness weakens one's faith in the many more remote subjects upon which he touches. On more speculative matters, I was puzzled to find the author of the 'World History of the Dance' writing that nothing is known of Minoan or Mycenaean dancing. Little, indeed, is known; but is it quite true to say "nothing" when there are preserved geometric vases (and, later, classical reliefs and Byzantine frescoes) that portray the chain dance, in which a man, generally with a handkerchief, leads a team holding hands in a line? This is still very much alive as the *kolo* in Yugoslavia and the *kalamatianos* in Greece, marked by the irregular rhythms that once characterized the poetic metre of Crete. This dance is, moreover, described near the end of Book XVIII of the *Iliad* in the picture of Achilles's shield, which Dr. Sachs mentions elsewhere.

There are in this survey many perceptive remarks. "The art of China", he writes, "has in all its amazing diversity one aim: to press on life and nature the seal of essence, dignity, unearthly aloofness, eternity." There is much else as revealing. One important source of art is ignored, except in its Romanesque development—Byzantium, and consequently Russia, the art from which Prof. Talbot-Rice would have us believe (certainly rather extremely) that all Western art ultimately streams. As well as music, dancing, poetry, drama, sculpture and architecture Dr. Sachs includes the significant art of clothing in his exposition—of the fine arts and their kindred arts furniture alone is scantily treated.

In Part II, *The Nature of Style*, Dr. Sachs proceeds to examine the developments he has outlined. Substituting the words *ethos* and *pathos* for the more familiar but misleading classical and romantic, he sees all art as a product of these two forces, either alone, or in opposition to each other, or in merger with each other. "Ethos is idealistic, and pathos, naturalistic", he writes, and groups six antitheses under this general antithesis of permanence-change: they are essence-appearance, beauty-character, impersonality-personality, limitation-boundlessness, serenity-passion, and perfection-imperfection. His examples are again drawn from all arts in all times and places, here arranged not in cross-sections in chronological order, but called in from all quarters as witnesses to support

the particular aspects of his general theory, often with a bewildering variety that requires the reader's mind to leap from art to art, from period to period, from civilization to civilization at a speed that can easily confuse further instead of clarify.

With Part III, *The Fate of Style*, we move to Dr. Sachs's interpretation of these fundamental laws. Divorcing art from outer life, he sees no pattern in the history of human events, but a clear one in the history of artistic impulse. He dismisses three theories which he sees as misconceptions: progress towards an ever more nearly realized ideal; the absence of any lasting style, with everything in perpetual, restless flux (not at all the same thing as the Greek *panta rei*); and the setting up of either ethos or pathos as the true way, and art a striving towards the elimination of the bad side. In place of these he proposes a theory in a metaphor of the tides: the ebb and flow of style, ethos to pathos to ethos again, at the behest of a force whose impalpability he strongly emphasizes, thus stopping short of the crucial question up to which his whole book has been leading, the simple, unanswerable question *Why?* Dr. Sachs charts his cycles clearly, seeing them as small movements within giant ones. "Every cycle starts on an ethos phase and ends on a pathos one", he decides, and deduces that "every phase develops from ethos to pathos." To this he later adds that "All cycles give predominance, in their incipient stages, to the visual arts and often to architecture, and, in their final stages, to music."

And here he ceases. He begins his brief epilogue with these words:

The sequence of styles, bewildering and often discouraging, in the light of facts cannot appear as a straight evolution, as a continual ripening, progress, achievement. Nor has it been a haphazard result of the senseless, ever-changing caprices of taste or the fruit of personal leadership. Infinitely more logical, lawful, inevitable, the grandiose orbit of art meanders in generational turns, which in their to-and-fro safeguard eternal motion and balance.

He has led us up, with a wealth of illustration, to the central mystery; from hard fact, through the fundamentals underlying the facts, to the ordering of those fundamentals. But he leaves us before the final question, which is indeed unanswerable, but which this book starts out as if to solve—what is the "impalpable force" that does the ordering, and why does it do it in this way he expounds? In this sense Dr. Sachs's learned, often enthralling, often illuminating, always stimulating book ultimately begs the great question it examines.

J. W.

A Guide to Musical Thought. By Ian Parrott. (Student's Music Library.) pp. 111. (Dobson, London, 1955, 7s. 6d.)

A really excellent idea lies behind the conception of this book, and it is at least in part realized. We have all met the student who is technically most proficient, but who simply does not know his way about music; if he is comparatively young he will know, for instance, that the first movement of Beethoven's ninth Symphony is in sonata form, and even be able to analyse it, but he will be at a loss to say what it is, in terms of imaginative handling of a common technique, that accounts for its unique quality, the practical means by which the master-stroke in the imagination is realized on paper. If he is a little older he will be bewildered by the multifarious variety of exclusive techniques used by composers in our century; and in each case there is nothing to supply his needed musical

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wisdom—as opposed to imagination, which nothing can supply if it is not there—except the kind of experience in which he will almost certainly be deficient if he has been attending conscientiously to his academic studies; and there is always the potential composer, ear-starved, who needs an initial stimulus to help him to translate his technique into sensuous sound. It is arguable, however, that a bigger and more closely written book is needed to do this. The present book has the effect of brilliant talk; no bad thing, when so much contemporary writing about music so utterly lacks anything like charm and conveys, sometimes, in its creaking syntax and laborious abstraction, the impression that it is about almost anything except an art.

But brilliant talk has its dangers, among them the easy half-truth and the accidental mistake. There are several in this book. On p. 61 it is stated that the present concert pitch is A-435 at 59 deg. Fahrenheit. Since a temperature is given, this can only mean that at a different temperature the pitch would be different, and therefore relative and not absolute. In fact the International Standard pitch is A-440. Can it be that Professor Parrott is confusing this with the old French Diapason Normal, now obsolete? Passing over a mild slip over Brahms's F.A.F. and Joachim's F.A.E., we come to the more serious matter of the erroneous description of 'Wozzeck' on p. 95. In fact 'Wozzeck' is part atonal (pantonal, atonal, according to choice), part polytonal and, in all its greater moments, purely tonal. It is not, as Professor Parrott states, twelve-note (serial, dodecaphonic). This is a common slip, and one that maddens certain Anglo-Austrian critics. These things, and the brief and somewhat superficial way in which many subjects are dealt with, tend to undermine one's confidence, which is a pity, since there are many good things in the book. For instance, the chapter on the leading-note is particularly valuable and suggestive, although some things in the rest of the book make one wonder if the author fully realizes the implications (rather sensational) of his assertion on p. 9 of the preface: "Destroy the 'leading' tendency in music and you destroy music." On p. 78 a whole line has been transposed into the middle of a music example, with wildly surrealist effect. Highly imaginative exercises are set at the ends of the chapters. Of course, the author was limited by the scope and size of the books in this series. The measure of his success is praiseworthy, but it must be said that the book is but a dim pre-echo of what is needed: a work which, when it comes, will take its place among the great theoretical books of our century.

P. J. P.

The Composer and his Art. By Gordon Jacob. pp. 121. (Oxford University Press; Cumberlege, London, 1955, 8s. 6d.)

In so far as the *art* of musical composition cannot be taught, Dr. Jacob has found it easy to carry out his intention of writing a companionable little book to tell his readers simply what it is like to be a composer. But it is possible to teach the *craft* of composition—indeed, he knows from his own long experience as a teacher how necessary that is—and he cannot help, especially in his middle chapters, giving a good deal of very useful practical guidance. Not that it matters. It is all very interesting. He is rather like an artist showing visitors round his studio with the intention of merely giving them an insight into his career, but soon finding that,

while the imponderables of musical creation remain inexplicable, it is all bound up with technicalities the fascination of which becomes too much for him, and he has to give away some of the secrets and reveal some of the tricks of his trade. And if budding composers happen to be among his visitors, it will not be his fault if they accept information as instruction, nor will anybody else be the worse off—not even the casual onlooker, who will not be any the less interested in music for having overheard some illuminating remarks that do not directly concern him.

It is not only salutary for students but good for anybody to know, for instance, that the modern teaching Dr. Jacob stands for no longer countenances paper work turned out, as it were, in a vacuum: "... no exercise should be written", he says, "without envisaging some definite instrumental or vocal medium. Otherwise there is grave danger of getting into habits of mere note-spinning on paper." Indeed, no music should ever be written under the assumption that it need not be performable, merely because, being set down only for practice, it will never be heard. There is no sense in practising anything that is not at least potentially practicable, and the student who does so indulges in the folly of preparing himself for something for which he will never have any need. Good music is not produced in this way, and no other music is worth attempting. The only great work ever written on such lines that comes to mind is Bach's 'Art of Fugue', and it can be no accident that even this is performable by two hands on a keyboard instrument, as Tovey has proved, although it is written in open score for the sake of showing the conduct of the parts as clearly as possible.

Here and there Dr. Jacob, while giving excellent advice, might have hedged it round with qualifications that could have made it even more useful. It is certainly true, as he says in his discussion of word-setting in vocal writing, that "for those who wish to set the English language there is no better model than Purcell"; but although even on Dr. Jacob's apparent advice no modern student is likely to fall into the trap of imitating such Purcellian mannerisms as multiple word-repetition and extravagantly florid decorations in dotted notes, it would at least have been interesting to have these baroque freaks pointed out. On the other hand something really useful could have been added to the following precept concerning orchestral accompaniment of choral music: "In fugal and contrapuntal passages in general, it is usually best to double the voice parts on the orchestra. Anything else would obscure the texture." There is a device not mentioned by Dr. Jacob which does all the doubling that may be desirable, but obscures nothing and is effective because it gives the instruments more congenial things to do than merely following the plain lines of the voices: the resources of heterophony.

In the chapters entitled 'The Composer's Relations with Critics, Performers and Public' and 'The Composer and his Environment' Dr. Jacob keeps most closely to the professed plan of his book, and he has many wise and useful things to say. Even about critics—or so they will think, for he is what they must feel to be very nice and sensible about them. "Are critics really necessary?" he begins by asking, and then cuts short the "nays" (or is it "neighs"?) by "The composer's answer . . . will probably depend on whether he has just had a batch of good notices . . . or a severe trouncing." He advises composers not to resent

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trouncings without at least reflecting whether they may not contain something of use to them and never to enter into an argument with an adverse critic. "Write your letter if you must but keep it till next day and then forget to post it." All critics will agree whole-heartedly with this, but the best of them at any rate will not concur when Dr. Jacob says that they "occasionally like to be thanked for a kind and really appreciative notice . . .". The young composer—old ones know better—should be firmly told that thanks are always embarrassing at best; perhaps also that notices are never "kind"—or so one hopes.

The foregoing will have shown that Dr. Jacob is very good-humoured. He is also humorous now again, in a quiet, gentle way that raises a contented chuckle. Here is what he says about writing for the harp:

It is an instrument which gives some trouble to composers when they first encounter it. Having been designed to deal most readily with diatonic music, composers whose idiom is highly chromatic are worried about constant pedal-changes; in fact some of them will need their harpist to be an expert tap-dancer unless they can discover enharmonic ways of writing their music.

E. B.

Contemporary Tone-Structures. By Allen Forte. pp. 194. (Columbia University Press, New York, 1955, \$3.75.)

America analyses. I do not mean this to be the title of a new picture to be shown, exclusively, at the British Film Institute, the National Film Theatre and the Hampstead Everyman, though I think that such an "instructional" could without difficulty be made. It would demonstrate how Hollywood has taken to analysing the badness of Hollywood; how *cogito ergo sum* has been replaced by the self-assurance "I psychoanalyse, therefore I am whole"; and how Mr. Allen Forte, in a dimly-lit room full of those "skeletal structures" that will be found in the all-important "analytic sketches" of his appendix, proves the goodness of good new structural methods. It would have to show all this with humour, to be sure, but not with irony. For much of Hollywood's anti-Hollywoodism makes sense; some of America's psychoanalysis actually is psychoanalysis; and quite a few of Mr. Forte's observations penetrate to the heart of the matter if not of the rhythmical spirit. The analyst's desire to take the musical clock to pieces in order to see what makes it tick is as legitimate as any search for truth. Only, music isn't altogether a clock, which is to say that it ticks rhythmically rather than metrically: it has a heart that winds itself up. Mr. Forte, however, has little patience with the actual tick-tack: "This study assumes that rhythm plays a purely differential role in Western music". By the time he has come to analyse, some hundred odd pages later, Schoenberg's violin Fantasy, this alleged secondary function has become too secondary even for Mr. Forte: ". . . the rhythmic patterns do not . . . constitute as highly organized a system as do the purely tonal patterns". A slightly reproachful note here, which is confirmed two pages farther on:

This is not to say that the twelve-tone technique is yet a complete compositional system in the same sense as triadic tonality. A number of important problems remain unsolved; for example, the problem of relating rhythm and timbre to the total work in a manner compatible with the homogeneous *tonal* structure.

Whence the road is free to the neo-twelve-noters' mechanization of rhythm. I wonder where exactly Mr. Forte found that "complete compositional system" of triadic tonality he is talking about. The truth

is that no genuinely creative mind wants a complete compositional system anyway, and that there has always been an optimum of systematization which has always been surpassed by those who lack compulsive imagination and invention, while never being reached by the amateur creator. The neo-twelve-noters to whom this book gives its implied blessing are unaware that their rhythmic serializing amounts to the same sort of dead procedure as the academician's harmonic cliché-spinning which they most detest.

Mr. Forte's cock-eared attitude towards rhythm, that elemental driving-force of all great music, is part of the heritage bequeathed to him by Schenker who, for the rest, turns in his grave in view of Mr. Forte's (highly profitable) adaptation of the concepts of "foreground", "middleground" and "background" for the purpose of analysing works which Schenker would not have regarded as music at all.

Tell me what you think about rhythm and I shall tell you how much of a "paper musician" you are (or, unintentionally, force yourself to be). Mr. Forte is careful to point out that "in all cases the ear is the final arbiter", but when he comes to apply his novel technique of analytic reduction it often fails to be. Consequently he frequently asks the wrong questions, and as soon as he has given himself the right but irrelevant answers, he feels bound to remain faithful to them and push everything that might diminish their relevance out of sight. I am sure he is a first-rate musician, but—and this is a prevalent characteristic of the admirable new university culture in America—he is naïve. It would be unfair to say that he never has any second thoughts, but he rarely puts them first. Thus he lands himself in a grotesque attitude towards the tonality of the *Larghetto* from Stravinsky's 'Five Fingers', which he describes as, possibly, "a non-triadic tonality (a system in which a single tone is predominant)". Aurally, this is nonsense: within our acoustic terms of reference there is no monotonal experience which excludes triadic implications. The correct, *i.e.* ear-inspired question to ask would have been how, why, and how far does Stravinsky suppress E minor? It is in fact my view that proper regard for this creative principle of suppression will eventually yield the clue to Stravinsky's wrong-note technique.

Even in his often brilliant analysis of the twelve-tonality of Schoenberg's Fantasy, Mr. Forte's ear is sometimes corrupted by his intellect. In a word, he gets his row wrong. "The second half of the set is an exact inversion of the first half of the set." How does he know? Does he *hear* this set as a set? The inversion is heard, but how is it heard as the second half of a set? Because it consists of the remaining six notes of the chromatic scale? But where do we hear that it is not going to be a six-note set throughout? All that is heard to begin with is a basic shape of twelve different notes which is made up of a row of six and its inversion at the fifth below. The question whether there is going to be a proper twelve-note set is left open, until it is answered in bars 10f., where the true second half of the set makes its belated first appearance. Schoenberg's second half consists, of course, of the same notes as Mr. Forte's second half (E♭, E, C, D, A♭, G♭), but in a different order (E, C, A♭, E♭, F♯, D). By this stage, however, Mr. Forte has saddled himself with "secondary sets", contradicting the law of artistic parsimony; his ear has failed to

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make him employ his own concept of "delay", with which he operates elsewhere.

He could, in fact, have provided ten times as "effective procedures and techniques for the analysis of contemporary tone-structures" if he had always considered, not the music in front of him, but the musical experience at the back of his mind. Even as it is, however, his "application of those procedures and techniques in a number of intensive analyses" still offers substantial if underdone food for thought. I personally have certainly learnt a great deal even from his fallacies, and I recommend his very serious effort to any one with a healthy amount of scepticism who does not mind tough going.

H. K.

Cecil Sharp. By A. H. Fox Strangways and Maud Karpeles, 2nd ed. pp. 225, pl. 16. (Oxford University Press; Cumberlege, London, 1955, 25s.)

This book, not being new, does not call for a detailed review; but a new edition of so valuable a work that has long been out of print is much to be welcomed. Miss Maud Karpeles has been left alone to carry out the revisions, her collaborator having died in 1944, but she, of all people, could be trusted to discharge this duty knowledgeably and loyally. The additions and changes she has thought it desirable to make thirty years after Cecil Sharp's death and twenty-two years after the original publication of his biography appear mainly in an Introduction and in Chapter XIV; but the whole book is worth reading again for the story it tells, with an inimitable vividness, of a man of sterling character whose life-work for the first time showed the true position of English folk music on the map of the western world.

E. B.

B.B.C. Handbook, 1956. pp. 287. (British Broadcasting Corporation, 1955, 5s.)

There is not much in this book to interest the musician; pp. 75-79 deal with broadcast music briefly and in outline; there are some highly significant tables of first performances, and doubtless the statistically minded can throw light on the Corporation's musical policy by an analysis of the accounts on pp. 173-88, and there are various other items scattered about its pages. The point is, of course, that the book is more concerned with the constitution and running of the B.B.C. than with music as such. Indirectly, such things as the introduction of F.M. broadcasting (more people care about quality of reproduction to-day) and listener research (not enough people are curious about things of the mind; it is there; why are they so apathetic that they are afraid to try what can be experienced by merely tuning in to the third programme?) are of interest, but the most intriguing aspect of the matter is the question of B.B.C. publications themselves (p. 247). The B.B.C. is responsible for more musical performances than any other organization in the country, yet all that is published about music by the Corporation is one short article and a column of criticism in 'The Listener', with a brief, perfunctory sketch in 'The Radio Times' written in a surely too elementary and childish style; and 'The Radio Times' has a circulation of 8,000,000 copies weekly. This suggests a failure both of liaison and imagination. There is room for a major musical journal devoted to the musical broadcasts of the B.B.C.,

issued and edited by the Corporation, staffed by the excellent B.B.C. music staff, but not excluding outside contributions, introducing broadcasts of music with authoritative articles on a reasonable scale, following them with critical comment and open to controversy. Such a journal, being issued by an organization like the B.B.C., need not cost much, and would have the advantage of the fantastic circulation of 'The Radio Times' and the popularity and publicity of the B.B.C. itself. Is there any hope?

P. J. P.

Anton Bruckners Sinfonien: eine Untersuchung über Formenbau und Stimmungsgehalt. By Ilmari Krohn. Vol. I: Symphonies 1-3. pp. 370. (Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Helsinki, 1955, Mk.1.200.)

The Symphonies of Anton Bruckner. By Gabriel Engel. pp. 104. (Bruckner Society of America, New York; Athens Press, Iowa, 1955.)

Neither of these two books is satisfactory, the one suffering from a calamitous excess of technicalities, the other from superficiality of approach. Ilmari Krohn is a Finnish musicologist who has fallen into the pitfall in which so many of his German colleagues are apt to become ensnared: he provides all the material for a book but not the book. Instead of presenting them with the conclusions drawn from his analyses, Dr. Krohn knocks his readers out by a laborious, almost bar-by-bar examination, by table after abstruse table looking like cryptic balance-sheets, and by an *apparatus technicus* the size of Juggernaut. To give an illustration, we are invited to consider at the very start "Taktusspaar: gleichgebaut, ungleichgebaut, dreiwechselnd, fünfwechselnd, Zeile, Periode, Strophe; Reihe: gepaart, gangartig, umspannend, bogenförmig, kernförmig; Gefüge: Hauptkern, Seitenkern, Schlusskern; Zyklus: gepaart, gangartig, bogenförmig, erweitert" and so on and so forth. These terms are used in the text in abbreviations to decode which the reader is perpetually compelled to consult an extensive glossary at the beginning of the book. After hewing his path through 360 pages of verbal jungle, in which no more than the first three of Bruckner's nine symphonies are analysed, or rather dissected beyond all recognition, the intrepid reader who has stayed the course must be forgiven if he thinks that this is musicology run amok. And the total result? *Parturiunt montes* . . .

Gabriel Engel, who died in 1952, was for a number of years editor of 'Chord and Discord', the official organ of the Bruckner Society of America. To mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation the Society has now published Engel's 'The Symphonies of Anton Bruckner', thus also paying homage to the memory of its editor. In a Foreword, added by an unnamed writer apparently after the author's death, we read that the aim "of this concise monograph is to present Bruckner's symphonies as a unified art-work logically evolving". This claim cannot be said to be substantiated in the body of a book that deals with the individual symphonies very much after the manner of programme annotations and may have conceivably originated in this source. Engel's sincere admiration of Bruckner cannot be doubted, and he was certainly able to communicate his enthusiasm, though not every Brucknerian will find it in him to follow the author in such flights as "One terrifying instant of perplexity, and then the parting soul leaps aloft to meet the dazzling revelation of Eternity" or "the spirits of conflict, still unvan-

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quished, once more rear their dread heads out of grim-voiced trombones". At this time of day it is difficult to appreciate the purpose and usefulness of a book on the Bruckner symphonies that offers romantic tushery instead of criticism and scholarship.

M. C.

Entwurf einer wohlbestallten Kirchenmusik. By Johann Sebastian Bach (1730). Facsimile Reproduction. (Bärenreiter-Verlag, Cassel & Basel, 1955, Mk. 14.)

This is the first of a projected series of facsimile reproductions of works and writings to be published by the Bach Archives of Leipzig, which now possess the autograph of this well-known document, formerly in the Leipzig Municipal Library. It was a good idea to begin with this report to the Town Council, dated 23 August 1730. As all those who have even a slight acquaintance with Bach biography know, this brief protocol is an admirable self-portrait of Bach as a man and an artist. It is polite but downright and leaves no doubt of what he thought were the minimum requirements of the musical establishment at St. Thomas's, if it was to do justice to the church, the school and himself—not least himself.

The reproduction looks convincingly faithful, and although a brief commentary claims no more than that the paper is reasonably like that of the original, it is sufficiently discoloured, spotty and rough-edged to convince the collector that he may acquire at a moderate price a fake distinguished from the real thing by little more than the artificially inflated market value which makes commercial commodities of autographs.

It would surely have been convenient to have the contents of the document repeated in print. Even those whose mother-tongue is German cannot find it very easy to read Bach's script, an old German cursive no longer in use. It is curious, by the way, to see how ill-formed the German language still was in 1730: Bach's manuscript bristles with Latin and French words, distinguished by Roman script and, what is more, foreign words in Germanic formations, also in Roman lettering: "Vocalisten", "Ripienisten", "Hautboisten", "Fleutenisten", "formiret", "consideriren", and so on. And here is his way of stating the number of musicians he wants: "Machet demnach der *numerus*, so *Musicam* verstehen müssen, 36 Persohnen aus."

E. B.

Verzeichnis aller meiner Werke. By Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, with Leopold Mozart's 'Verzeichnis der Jugendwerke W. A. Mozarts'. Ed. by E. H. Mueller von Asow. pp. 103. (Doblinger, Vienna, 1956.)

This is a revised reprint, in a larger format, of a book that first appeared in 1943. It contains the catalogue which Leopold Mozart compiled of his son's work up to 1768, and the much better known thematic list made by Wolfgang Amadeus himself from February 1784 up till the time of his death. The first is a tantalizing document, partly because of some of the uncertain identifications and partly because some of the pieces have disappeared. The second is probably the most famous thing of its kind. It was first published in 1805 by André and appeared before the last was in an elegant and faithful facsimile edition published in 1938 by Reichner of Vienna with a commentary, in a separate booklet, by O. E. Deutsch. (The present edition makes no mention of this facsimile, despite an obvious debt to the commentary.) It is useful to have the two catalogues

within one cover. That of 1768 is supplemented by a section identifying with Köchel's numbers the works still extant. For the 'Verzeichnis' proper, Dr. Mueller von Asow has supplied a short note on the handful of compositions which are known to-day only by their incipits.

A. H. K.

Die Jupiter-Symphonie: eine Studie über die thematisch-musikalischen Zusammenhänge. By Johann Nepomuk David. pp. 39. (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen, 1953, Mk. 2.40.)

At first sight this small booklet does not seem to call for a lengthy review decked out with musical quotations, but it takes little more than a second glance to make one realize that it is one of those things to fill one with a mixture of alarm, despondency and boredom; for it seems to be symptomatic of what musical disquisitions are coming to in Germany, and through German influence elsewhere, especially in America. A protest must be made in this country before the rot sets in here, as indeed it has lately shown some rather terrifying signs of doing. What is so disheartening about the whole business is that it all looks very temptingly ingenious, and the student who is at all attracted by figures and graphs is only too likely to overlook the fact that ingenuity of that sort is all in the analyst rather than in the work analysed. The danger is the greater because it cannot be disputed that a certain amount of what is shown is demonstrably true and that these fanatical exponents readily admit that their findings represent, more probably than not, unconscious processes in the composers' minds. This enables them to get away with the most fantastic assertions and distortions—to see, in fact, anything they want to see in the music they study. Worst of all, even if they were right about everything they find, as they are about a small proportion of it, the results of their investigation would still have no aesthetic significance whatever. They do nothing to prove the greatness or in any way to determine the quality of the music, since it is quite possible to subject a very poor piece of work to exactly the same dissection as a masterpiece. Only, of course, these good people carefully refrain from doing so and, if challenged, would doubtless declare loftily that they have no wish to concern themselves with inferior composers.

J. N. David, born in Austria in 1895, is himself a composer of some standing, an organist and professor of composition at Stuttgart. He must therefore be given attention, but must also be the more sharply criticized because his teaching is evidently influential. Let the reader judge how Mozart's last Symphony fares under the Davidian examination and decide for himself how much he will swallow.

It appears that the whole work is based on the fugal tag that opens the finale, not the first four notes of which it actually consists, but a series of ten notes the last six of which are spun out of the continuation:

Ex. 1



So far good enough, perhaps, if we can accept the rhythmic simplification of notes 6 to 10. But we have got only as far as bar 19 when things become awkward. Notes 2 to 4 now obstinately refuse to play the game, and we are told, as though it explained everything, that—I translate—"they are suppressed, gulped down, to let the following notes be released as from a waterspout":

Ex. 2



Even this might perhaps pass, were it not that only one note of the sequel, No. 6, coincides with an essential note in the music; all the others, including No. 5, which is wrongly placed in the example, fall on passing-notes with no possible thematic significance. This happens over and over again, not only in the finale, but in the other three movements, for Professor David has decided that the whole Symphony is based on this ten-note series, and it does not matter to him whether his notes come on strong beats or any beat at all, or in the most insignificant of unaccented places. Later on in the finale we get this:

Ex. 3



Again, the argument would not be invalidated if it were just a matter of turning the series backwards: if twelve-note composers are allowed to indulge in cancrizans, why not a "ten-note master" like Mozart? But again, look where notes 4, 2 and 1 have to be placed to make the theory work.

Things become even more fantastic when we look at Professor David's comments on the other movements. The first has arrived only at its seventh bar when it becomes necessary to show note 4 in brackets because Mozart naughtily refuses to use it where he should. Of course there is an explanation, also in brackets:

(The fourth note of the c.f. [*cantus firmus*, for it is nothing less] remains unrealized. If the third and fourth notes of bar 7 were F E, all would be observed to the letter. Liberties of this kind give life to the composition.)

So liberties are allowed, which is only fair to the composer, since the analyst himself takes so many. Well, at bar 75 (and the analogous passage at bar 263) the two vie with each other in becoming positively licentious: the series starts simultaneously with note 1 followed by 10-5 (4-2 being quietly ignored), with 1-6 (and no more) below:

Ex. 4



Very pretty; but again the placing of several notes in the bass is arbitrarily selected, and it will be observed that note 4 suddenly jumps into the treble to find its soul-mate, which refuses to come down to meet it. And so, very nicely or maddeningly, as one may feel disposed, it goes on in the slow movement (with transpositions into F major and minor) and in the minuet.

Before he comes to the "Jupiter" Symphony Professor David shows that the same *cantus firmus* also goes with the subject of the first fugue in Book I of 'The Well-tempered Clavier'; and so it does, if one uses his Procrustean procedure. But this Bach subject has also been shown to go with 'L'homme armé', as Professor David honestly admits, and he says this only shows that one may see musical themes as being derived from a *cantus firmus*. True enough, if one disregards obstacles as he does, and I have no doubt that the "Jupiter" Symphony too could be shown to have been based on 'L'homme armé' or all sorts of other tunes, ready-made or manufactured by commentators. Conversely, he finds his precious ten notes again in the slow movement of the G minor Symphony. He may find it in a hundred other things and—this is surely the point—in bad music as well as good. It would not be hard, given his selective method, to find that the Diabelli waltz used by Beethoven for his variations, and despised by him, will accommodate the "Jupiter" *cantus firmus*; for it begins on C, before long hits D, sooner or later gets to F and E, and so on.

It is no pleasure to demolish Professor David's theories, for he is clearly quite serious and, if he had the slightest suspicion that he was talking nonsense, would at once stop doing so. But his very seriousness may take in others to the point of making them his disciples. He says impressively and truly:

... the masterpieces which surround us during a lifetime impose themselves on us for continual scrutiny by our constant contact with them—practical and theoretical. By lasting through the times, they affect the spirit of any given time, and so secure

vital comprehension. Thus, and thus only do masterpieces remain immortal. Once we no longer "find anything in them", once there is no longer "anything behind" these works, then they are dead—or we are.

Quite so, but it is not Professor David's or anybody else's dissection that will keep them alive. There are plenty of other ways of studying masterpieces, aesthetic, historical, comparative, even in a different way analytical. What is wanted is an imaginative approach. E. B.

Über die Deutbarkeit der Tonkunst. By Nils-Eric Ringbom. pp. 263. (Fazer, Helsinki, 1955.)

Mr. Ringbom's thesis is that music's two aspects are function and expression, and that the one is accessible by analysis, the other only by hermeneutics. By "function" he means all that is contained in the conscious and intentional realization of a creation—chiefly form, but also the programme, where there is one. Function is the spiritual-intellectual (*geistige*) messenger, "expression" the living (*lebendige*) message that used to be known as content, but must be understood to be involuntary and unconscious; it is the spontaneous realization of the artist's unique personality as well as his historical and geographical background. Function is measurable; expression appraisable.

It will be seen that this treatise 'On the Interpretability of Music' cautiously and modestly confines itself to an attempt to clarify the general methodology of aesthetic and psychological investigations into music. All the greater the reviewer's regret for his definite conclusion that the thesis is essentially untenable, though it contains much of incidental value.

Mr. Ringbom is extremely well versed in aesthetics and in what is nowadays known as "academic" or "surface" psychology, but his ignorance of psychoanalysis and of the drastic changes our knowledge of the unconscious has brought about in our scientific picture of the mind is complete. As a result, he develops an invalid dichotomy depending on the assumption that all intention as well as creative willing is conscious. Psychoanalysis has shown that even the greater part of conscience itself is unconscious. The concept of scientific analysis itself, moreover, has undergone appreciable changes under the influence of depth psychology: the criterion of measurability has lost some of its magic attraction.

Again, the alleged isolation of the "living" as distinct from the "intellectual" aspects of the mind, the separateness and "loneliness" of the "vital process" in which Mr. Ringbom wishes us to see the reason why they must needs be unanalysable, has been shown to be a partial illusion. Freud has demonstrated the elemental process of "introjection", i.e. the "absorption of the environment into the personality, so that external events are reacted to as though they were internal, personal ones" (Ernest Jones). To give a simple example, a mother can almost "measure" the feelings of her infant as if they were her own—or if she cannot, she knows more about them than any measurement, if it were possible, could elicit. The "vital process", then, is not necessarily so inaccessible psychologically as Mr. Ringbom and his philosophical predecessors would like us to assume, and theory of cognition has to adjust itself, even if the very concept of science has to be modified in the process. After all, measurement is a means, not an end, and if there are other equally valid means of discovering, describing, defining and proving truth, so much the better.

At the same time, if Mr. Ringbom had exercised a little more professional musicianship, he might have avoided his basic fallacy even without psychoanalytic knowledge. Any technically competent student of composition knows that there are unconscious structural intentions and achievements; that, in fact, the consciousness or otherwise of formal planning is not in itself of any aesthetic significance: Beethoven was conscious of formal considerations of which Mozart was unconscious. And every competent analyst of contemporary music has been able to surprise one or the other composer by showing him some of his unconscious formal intentions.

Paradoxically enough, however, the book makes better reading than many a sounder thesis. Mr. Ringbom is an imaginative, conscientious and critical thinker; he scores while he falls. There are brilliant observations, still necessary nowadays, on musical experience as the *conditio sine qua non* of intellectual understanding, on the nonsense of non-expressive music and so forth; and Schering and Seashore, among several others, are zestfully and effectively taken to task.

H. K.

Phrasierung und Artikulation: ein Beitrag zu einer Sprachlehre der Musik. By Hermann Keller. pp. 92. (Bärenreiter-Verlag, Cassel & Basel, 1955.)

Since the days of Westphal and Riemann, who seem to have been the first in this field of enquiry, increasing attention has been paid to the study of musical phrasing, both as a theory and in its more practical application in the editing of older music. Yet, if the nineteenth century was guilty of too cavalier a treatment of this problem, in our century the pendulum may be said to have swung to the other extreme: we tend to be too "phrase-conscious". Parallels have been drawn between the grammar of music and that of language, and it is indeed common nowadays to refer to music as a kind of language, which has its words (motives), sentences (phrases) and paragraphs (periods). As long as this parallelism is not stretched too far and we guard against exaggeration and dogmatism (in which Riemann, for all his real insight, was one of the worst offenders), much can be gained for an intelligent musical interpretation from such analogies. After all, composing in the Western sense means (or should mean) thinking in sound, and this mental process must needs make use of organizing devices similar to those employed in word-thinking, if musical thoughts and their development into complex structures are to be clearly comprehended.

It is one of the merits of this comparatively short book by Hermann Keller to press home again this language aspect of music (hence its subtitle) and summarize the various practical questions allied to it. In the main the author confines himself to an expository treatment of the subject, with a brief historical survey and special references to Bach, Mozart and Beethoven. But the sharp distinction he draws between phrasing and articulation is both new and valuable. Phrasing he compares to the punctuation in written language, and on the right "punctuation" depend sense and meaning of the musical phrases. Articulation on the other hand is solely concerned with the various manners of playing (*Spielarten*), such as *legato*, *staccato*, tonguing, up-and-down bow, and so on. Articulation can only affect the expression, the emotional "tone" of

phrases, but never their meaning—meaning here to be always understood in the structural and contextual sense. In this connection the author contends that while there can be a variety of possible articulations of the same phrase, without thus distorting its meaning, there can only be one correct way of phrasing it. Couched in such categorical terms this proposition seems to the present reviewer difficult to accept. For a great many instances can be cited from the music of the classics where several kinds of phrasing are possible, all logical, all justified and all lending the phrase significant inflections. Thus the opening of Schubert's 'Der Tod und das Mädchen' allows at least three different ways of phrasing, each imparting to the phrase a meaningful *Gestalt*. Schubert himself—whether advisedly or with unconscious wisdom—indicated no phrasing at all. With Bach in particular, whose melodic structure can be very complex and when polyphony adds further complication, the possibilities of applying different "true" phrasings to one and the same structure grow accordingly. "Absolutes" here can only lead to misrepresentation and even positive distortion. Where the composer left no markings the choice of one phrasing rather than another will of course depend on the interpreter's sense of style, his musical perception and, in old music, on a combination of scholarship and imagination.

In the concluding chapter the author briefly surveys the phrase-structures of nineteenth-century composers. He here makes the interesting observation that with the early romantics (Schubert, Weber, Schumann, Chopin and Mendelssohn) this aspect shows considerably less subtlety and differentiation than is seen in the music of the classics, where interlockings, overlappings and elisions constitute a noteworthy feature. It was not until Brahms and the mature Wagner (after 'Lohengrin') that something of the classical richness and complexity returned. It is a pity that Hermann Keller should not have extended his useful study to cover modern music.

M. C.

La Musique instrumentale de la Renaissance: études. Ed. by Jean Jacquot. pp. 390. (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris, 1955, Fr. 1,800.)

In March and April 1954 a group of scholars met in Paris to discuss the problems connected with instrumental music between about 1450 and 1650; the meeting was organized by the Groupe d'Études Musicales de la Renaissance, and the proceedings have now been published by its parent body, the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. The resulting volume answers some questions and poses far more, but it simply cannot be ignored by any future student of Renaissance instrumental music. It is a pity that it has appeared too late to be digested into Reese's monumental 'Music in the Renaissance', for a synthesis of some kind is just what is needed for these important but necessarily disconnected studies. It would be pleasant if a reviewer could supply such a synthesis, drawing conclusions, pointing out analogies, fitting the multifarious contributions into the context of sixteenth-century music as a whole, and perhaps at times correcting a few errors of perspective which may result from over-specialization; but this is really out of the question. The most one can hope to do is to give a brief account of the volume's contents, a catalogue slightly *raisonné*.

To start with there are two papers which throw light on methods of performance by means of archival and literary research: Mme. Thibault helps to define the implicit preconceptions which underlie the grouping of instruments in the fifteenth century, and Emile Haraszti collects a large number of references to the musicians who were in the employ of Mathias Corvinus at Buda. Another method of tackling questions of performance is by purely musical analysis. This is the line pursued by Daniel Heartz, who offers a very useful comparative study of certain musical pieces, notably those published by Attaignant, as they appear in versions for ensemble, keyboard and lute. In the more limited field of vihuela music the veteran editor Emilio Pujol brings his experience of transcription to bear on an analysis of the purely structural limitations upon composition in this medium, while R. de Morcourt describes and evaluates Bianchini's lute tablature of 1546 from the point of view of the practising lutenist. It is particularly valuable to have a player's opinion; too many of us are in a position analogous to a writer on the nineteenth century who had only the vaguest notion of how to play a piano. Nevertheless the writer of this paper accepts one or two obvious misprints in Bianchini rather too credulously (p. 179). 'O s'io potessi donna' is in fact by Berchem (although it appears in Arcadelt's first madrigal book); comparison with the vocal original would have been quite easy.

A group of papers is concerned with organ music. Pierre Hardouin has collected an enormous amount of material on the precise specifications of Parisian organs around 1600. This may sound too specialized to be ideally useful, but in fact a needle-like specialization is all to the good in this branch of musicology. Many discussions of, for example, the "baroque" organ are invalidated by treating it as if it were a static, ideal concept, and not subject to continual modification by place and time; only by plotting a number of detailed points with the maximum exactitude can we fill in the lines of its development. Norbert Dufourcq provides some useful remarks on distinctions in style between the organ and other keyboard instruments and Pierre Froidebise some pleasantly candid ones on certain editions of early organ music. Of less practical use, but no less interesting, is Santiago Kastner's account of a *cimbalo perfetto* designed by one Jobernardi for the chapel of Philip IV of Spain: the same author also contributes some observations on similarities and probable contacts between two of the greatest organists of the early sixteenth century, Antonio de Cabezón and Arnolt Schlick.

There are a large number of studies which tackle instrumental music from the national angle. To these belong the only two contributions from the Soviet sphere of influence: E. H. Meyer on the popular element in German instrumental dances and Zofia Lissa on the development of a Polish national style. Both these papers give some evidence of setting out to prove convictions already held by their authors (or by their governments), but particularly Meyer's. His final sentence could have been written in irony by Orwell:

Ces indications suffiront à informer nos collègues très estimés qu'en ce moment, dans notre Université, à Berlin, un thème est considéré comme capital: l'exploration de l'importance de la musique populaire pour l'étude de la musique artistique de la période décrite, et, au fond, de celle de tous les temps.

After that it is refreshing to read Wilfried Brennecke's modest postscript

to his earlier study of a collection of instrumental music made at Wittenberg and Heidelberg.

In view of the fact that the meeting was held in Paris it is a little disappointing to find that the only specific study of French instrumental music is Mlle. Launay's of the instrumental *fantaisie* from 1550 to 1650—a detailed exploration of a not very rich field. When we turn to English music, however, we may be gratified to find that no fewer than eight studies are devoted to various aspects of it. John Ward and Jean Jacquot (the generous and indefatigable organizer of the meeting) concentrate on keyboard music, with Thurston Dart providing a valuable postscript on the Dublin virginal book; Mr. Dart again, Denis Stevens, the present writer and Elizabeth Cole between them offer a fairly complete conspectus of polyphonic ensemble music, while David Lumsden gives a brief account of foreign influences on English lute music. It would be an extremely difficult task to point out where these various studies, attacking a complex problem from the various angles of repertory, style, form and sources, complement and sometimes contradict one another. But is it beyond the ability of someone to edit a composite account of English instrumental music from the work of these (and if necessary other) writers? As they stand these papers are stimulating but disconnected; it would be extremely valuable if the knowledge they suggest exists could be pooled. It is very doubtful whether any one scholar could tackle the job of writing the history of English instrumental music in the sixteenth century by himself, but some kind of joint effort, though difficult, might prove possible. Meanwhile we can only regret that our university presses do not see fit to publish at least those doctoral theses recommended to them by competent authorities.

I have not exhausted the contents of this invaluable book, but I hope that I have made it clear that it is a mine of facts and suggestions for future scholars. It is clearly printed, and (an improvement on its predecessor, the similar volume on 'Musique et poésie au XVI^e siècle') has a stiff cover. Renaissance scholars owe a very considerable debt to the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and to M. Jacquot, who has converted the good will of that organization into good works.

J. N.

Monsigny: sa vie et son œuvre. By Paule Druilhe. pp. 125. (La Colombe, Paris, 1955, Fr.350.)

Little biographical and critical books on little composers are always welcome. I should like to see an English series of short studies of minor masters published in pleasant uniformity under the guidance of a discerning editor. It could include translations of suitable foreign works, and an excellent beginning might be made with something like the present book, which is an admirable thing of its kind.¹ Mme. Druilhe writes clearly and fluently, marshals her facts well and shows balanced critical insight. She does not try to make Monsigny look bigger than he is, but very properly lets the reader realize that there were good reasons for the popularity he enjoyed in his lifetime and that he exercised a certain

¹Other works in this series that look suitable are studies of Frescobaldi by Armand Machabey, of the elder Leclair by Marc Pincherle and of Gossec by J.-G. Prod'homme. Several of the minor composers mentioned in this review would also make welcome candidates.

influence on French comic opera of a later age. Indeed she might well have gone farther and pointed out that he also stands for something in the development of comic-opera composers outside France who absorbed French elements, such as Lortzing, Nicolai and Flotow, for instance; and she would hardly have been extravagant to suggest that even the early domestic scenes in 'Fidelio', which are much more French than German, come ultimately from the school to which Monsigny belonged. She does tell us that the overture to 'Le Déserteur' is interrupted in the middle by a trumpet fanfare, though in likening this to Beethoven's similar procedure in the 'Leonore' overtures she has the good sense to do so "toute proportion gardée". All the same, we know that this opera, as well as 'Rose et Colas' and 'Félix', was in the repertory of the Bonn theatre when Beethoven played the viola there as a youth, not to mention that as a child he must have heard a tune from it daily, played by the chimes of the electoral palace.

Monsigny's influence on Beethoven was neither as great nor as direct as that of such men as Cherubini, Méhul, Paer or Gossec, and the truth is that Monsigny was much less important and less advanced than these. He was rather in the class of Dalayrac, Duni, Dezède and their like, a charming and amiable exponent of the special type of sentimental comic opera favoured in Paris during the later eighteenth century, the *comédie larmoyante* of which librettists like Anseaume, Favart, Dancourt and Sedaine were the literary exponents: if indeed that adjective will do for Monsigny's chief collaborator, Sedaine, of whom, according to Mme. Druilhe, it was said more than once that he did not know French.

E. B.

REVIEWS OF MUSIC

Eine kleine Nachtmusik. By Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, K. 525. Facsimile of the Original Manuscript, ed. by Manfred Gorké. (Bärenreiter-Verlag, Cassel & Basel, 1955, Mk. 15.)

This reproduction of the 'Little Serenade' of 1787, Mozart's only work of this type written for strings only, and consequently the most familiar and favoured of them, makes a delightful gift-book for the bicentenary. The autograph looks as much like an original as print and modern paper can achieve, and there is a charming cover design taken from an eighteenth-century wallpaper. The work was acquired with many others from Mozart's widow in 1800 by the publisher Johann Anton André of Offenbach; but after his death in 1842 the manuscript unaccountably disappeared, to be lost sight of for a century. It was rediscovered in private hands by its present editor in 1943 and is now in the custody of the Bärenreiter-Verlag.

At first sight the score looks like a fair copy rather than a first draft, for the music is thrown on the paper with an almost unbelievable assurance and without a correction or erasure. Yet on looking closely at the writing one comes to the conclusion that it reflects the actual process of composition. There are numerous abbreviations of a kind that would surely have been fully written out in a fair copy, and what is more conclusive

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still is that many bars are crowded into a narrower space than a deliberately planned copy would have shown.

Mozart's own catalogue of the works written by him between 1784 and 1791 mentions two minuets as occurring in the 'Kleine Nachtmusik', the first standing between the opening movement and the 'Romance' (*sic*, not 'Romanze' as in the D minor piano Concerto). If this were not conclusive proof that this movement did exist, the autograph leaves no doubt whatever. Its leaves are numbered by double pages, and sheet No. 3 (pp. 5 and 6) is missing. But what became of it or at what stage of the work's existence it was lost nobody knows, or probably ever will know, even if the piece should turn up one day, as it may quite conceivably do. In his edition of the Köchel Catalogue Alfred Einstein, who was much given to assigning places in apparently complete works to stray movements of approximately the same period, did not find anything to identify as the missing minuet.

E. B.

Las Ensaladas. By Mateo Flecha, the elder. Transcription and Essay by Higini Anglès. (Diputación Provincial: Biblioteca Central, Barcelona, 1955.)

Madrigals were far less popular in Spain in the sixteenth century than they were in England or Italy. The Spaniards cultivated other forms of secular music instead, among which were *ensaladas* (or quodlibets). These are settings of gay and humorous poems in a mixture of several languages; they abound in word-painting and onomatopœic sounds; and, as we would expect, they make extensive use of popular Spanish songs. They are akin to the *fricassées* of French composers like Sermisy and even to the Christmas medleys found in Scotland; more broadly, they may remind us of the *chansons* of Jannequin. Mgr. Anglès is surely right, however, in rejecting the view, current in some reference books, which sees in them analogies with the madrigal-comedies of Vecchi.

The elder Mateo Flecha (1481-1553), for many years choirmaster to the Infanta of Castile and one of Spain's leading secular polyphonists, excelled as a composer of *ensaladas*. He is known to have written eleven of them: of these works his nephew, the younger Mateo Flecha, published eight at Prague in 1581 in part-books, of which the bass alone survives; two others are found in manuscript sources (one incomplete); and one has disappeared. The volume under review contains only the six that can be completed from manuscript sources (all at Barcelona or Madrid) or from printed sources such as the arrangements for solo voice and *vihuela* in Miguel de Fuenllana's 'Orphenica lyra' of 1554. It is an admirable volume, worthy of its place in the enterprising series in which it appears. The music is presented clearly and attractively, but as it changes time so often it was unhelpful of the editor to offer no guide to comparative tempos.

The introductory matter consists of four pages of facsimiles; biographies of both the Flechas, in which Mgr. Anglès presents expansively the results of his researches (already published briefly elsewhere) and sorts out the confusion between the two men that exists in some reference books; notes on composers associated with these two; complete lists of the works of the Flechas, with all sources listed; a few words on the music and poetry of *ensaladas*; the texts of the six works now published; and a critical commentary.

As for the works themselves, all six have some connection with the Nativity: for instance, 'El Jubilate' celebrates the event, and 'La Guerra' tells how the Redeemer comes to do battle with Lucifer. There is a nice balance between single-line, note-against-note and polyphonic writing (the last not very elaborate); the tunes are delightful, the pictorialism appealingly naive. The harmonic range, however, is limited, and this seems to me to lead to monotony in the longer pieces. But there is good material here for madrigal groups, whose Spanish and Catalan are not too rusty and who are looking out for something out-of-the-way to sing; I hope, therefore, that this library edition will be followed by some cheap off-prints.

N. C. F.

CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor of 'Music & Letters'

'THE DEMONIC IN MOZART'

Sir,

I must confess that Mr. Geoffrey Clive's article on 'The Demonic in Mozart' in the January 'Music & Letters' filled me with alarm and despondency. I am at a loss to know whether it was intended as a contribution to theology-cum-metaphysics or to musicology; in any case I would with all deference suggest that it belongs properly to neither category but merely succeeds in raising a smoke-screen of such impenetrability round all the points at issue that the reader is left gasping for breath and probably calling for his smog-mask.

If the paper is an attempt to interpret Mozart in the light of pseudo-existentialist philosophy then it would indeed be difficult to imagine a more wrong-headed approach to such a marvellous phenomenon of purity and sanity as the music of Mozart, of all composers surely the least introspective and selfconscious. *Of course* there are undertones of tragedy in Mozart's music, because he was profoundly human; but to suggest that he had a "peculiar affection for the demonic mode of providence, i.e. the mode in which God speaks to us through seeming self-travesty or denial" (?) is, I maintain, to suggest something that would have astonished and dumbfounded no one more than the composer himself had such a notion ever been expressed in his presence. Mr. Clive in aiming at profundity may have succeeded only too well, and indeed often gives the impression of being out of his depth. The obscurity of the language also would seem to point to unclear thinking, and I would challenge the author to explain in simple words what he means, for example, by such phrases as "essentialist criteria for dramatic and emotional consummation" (p. 6); "the hypostatization as well as the cancellation of apposites" (*ibid*); "existential confusion" (p. 7); "relatedly oriented music" (p. 9); "the existential reduplication of rational insights" (*ibid*); or the sibylline remark on the same page that "Mozart's music bears witness to an absence of illusions which makes it dialectically less irreligious, perhaps ethically more profoundly idolatrous than the diluted piety of nationalist composers". This, I venture to submit, is mere verbiage and nothing more.

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Finally, is it really true that Mozart was *intensely preoccupied* "with the dialectic between [?] hybris and nemesis, grace and damnation, redemption and punitive suffering"? (If this means suffering imposed as a punishment, surely "punitive" is the wrong adjective?) The truth is, of course, that even if such antinomies are discernible in his music (which no one would deny) they are not there, I would maintain, because Mozart selfconsciously wished to stress them. To suggest that is to miss the whole point about Mozart's music, which is, if it is anything at all, sublimely unselfconscious. But because selfconsciousness is the malady from which so much contemporary music suffers, the modern critic thinks, no doubt, that in order to be up-to-date he must attribute this shortcoming to the musician who, above all others, is the embodiment of the highest and therefore the least selfconscious form of creative genius.

When Mr. Clive says that "Mozart succeeds in confronting us with a major paradox as a unified experience" (another way of saying, I presume, the coexistence of good and evil) he is stating an objective fact; the error lies in assuming that this was a *conscious process*. It is this assumption, on which the whole of Mr. Clive's argument appears to be based which, to my mind, makes his whole paper seem unreal and in the last resort irrelevant. For the real secret of Mozart cannot be revealed through "dialectic", but only through intuition. And if that is an "old-fashioned" attitude to adopt, I am willing to accept the implication.

Paris,

22 January 1956.

ROLLO H. MYERS.

'MOZART IN RETROSPECT'

Sir,

Your reviewer writes: "Mozart did forget his own works unbelievably", and cites the case of the "Haffner" Symphony. But there seems, on balance, to be more evidence to the contrary, that he had a remarkably retentive musical memory. On 2/3 October 1777 he wrote to his father: "I played several things out of my head, and then the two Cassations I wrote for the Countess [the Divertimenti K.247, 287] and finally the Finalmusik, with the Rondo [probably the "Haffner" Serenade], all from memory." Again on 3 October 1778: "Le Gros purchased from me the two overtures [the "Paris" Symphony and another work not now certainly identifiable] and the Sinfonie concertante [K. Supp. 9]. He thinks that he alone has them, but he is wrong, for they are fresh in my mind, and, as soon as I get home, I shall write them down again." One also thinks, in this context, of the famous performance of the B flat violin Sonata, when Mozart played the clavier part entirely from memory. We have, too, a tradition, preserved by Rochlitz (*cf.* Abert, I, 1020), that Mozart used to take with him when travelling only orchestral parts, and would himself play from a sketch of the keyboard part, which comprised only figured bass, the principal themes and hints for the runs, etc. Despite Rochlitz's unreliability, there may well be a basis of fact in this: the clavier part of the "Coronation" Concerto, for instance, is in places only sketched in.

London, N.W. 3,
15 February 1956.

A. HYATT KING.

'SUMER IS ICUMEN IN'

Sir,

In a letter to the editor ('Music & Letters', January 1954, p. 91) Mr. Walter Emery took the then editor, the late Mr. Richard Capell, gently to task for what apparently seemed a tendency to subscribe to Professor Manfred Bukofzer's theories regarding the dating of 'Sumer is icumen in'. He wrote:

Have not you read Schofield's article, 'Music Review', May 1948? Bukofzer has never replied to it. (Don't see how he could!)

The imputation, however slight, that the late Professor Bukofzer was not a big enough man and mind to accept revision of his own ideas surely does less than justice to the memory of this great scholar. Even at this late date, then, perhaps I may call attention to the fact that Professor Bukofzer had, in fact, expressed his acceptance, at least in part, of Dr. Schofield's carefully reasoned revision of his theories concerning 'Sumer is icumen in'.

In his review of Professor J. A. Westrup's revision of Walker's 'A History of Music in England' in Music Library Association 'Notes', Series 2, Vol. X, December 1952, pp. 96-97, Bukofzer wrote:

Concerning the rota 'Sumer is icumen in' it may be pointed out that even the article quoted in defence of the conventional date [*i.e.* Dr. Schofield's article] admits of an origin in the second half of the 13th century. The present reviewer now subscribes to this view, though the exact decade is still under dispute.

Ohio University,

JOHN BERGSAGEL.

31 January 1956

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ERRATUM

By an unfortunate error, due to the necessity of resetting Mr. Eric Halfpenny's article, 'A French Commentary on Quantz' in the January issue of 'Music & Letters', some of the text became confusingly misplaced. Readers are informed that the numbered paragraphs beginning on p. 63 are Mr. Halfpenny's commentary and should have appeared under the heading "NOTES" on p. 65; and that the matter in small type on pp. 65-66 is his translation of Castillon's text, which should have stood on pp. 63-64, beginning after line 5.



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